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Public Law 93-443
93rd Congress, S. 3044
October 15, 1974

An Act

88 STAT. 1263

To impose overall limitations on campaign expenditures and political contributions; to provide that each candidate for Federal office shall designate a principal campaign committee; to provide for a single reporting responsibility with respect to receipts and expenditures by certain political committees; to change the times for the filing of reports regarding campaign expenditures and political contributions; to provide for public financing of Presidential nominating conventions and Presidential primary elections; and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974".

Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974.
2 USC 431 note.

TITLE I—CRIMINAL CODE AMENDMENTS

LIMITATIONS ON CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES

SEC. 101. (a) Section 608 of title 18, United States Code, relating to limitations on contributions and expenditures, is amended by striking out subsections (b) and (c) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"(b) (1) Except as otherwise provided by paragraphs (2) and (3), no person shall make contributions to any candidate with respect to any election for Federal office which, in the aggregate, exceed \$1,000.

"(2) No political committee (other than a principal campaign committee) shall make contributions to any candidate with respect to any election for Federal office which, in the aggregate, exceed \$5,000. Contributions by the national committee of a political party serving as the principal campaign committee of a candidate for the office of President of the United States shall not exceed the limitation imposed by the preceding sentence with respect to any other candidate for Federal office. For purposes of this paragraph, the term 'political committee' means an organization registered as a political committee under section 303 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 for a period of not less than 6 months which has received contributions from more than 50 persons and, except for any State political party organization, has made contributions to 5 or more candidates for Federal office.

"Political committee."
Post, p. 1276.

"(3) No individual shall make contributions aggregating more than \$25,000 in any calendar year. For purposes of this paragraph, any contribution made in a year other than the calendar year in which the election is held with respect to which such contribution was made, is considered to be made during the calendar year in which such election is held.

"(4) For purposes of this subsection—

"(A) contributions to a named candidate made to any political committee authorized by such candidate, in writing, to accept contributions on his behalf shall be considered to be contributions made to such candidate; and

"(B) contributions made to or for the benefit of any candidate nominated by a political party for election to the office of Vice President of the United States shall be considered to be contributions made to or for the benefit of the candidate of such party for election to the office of President of the United States.

"(5) The limitations imposed by paragraphs (1) and (2) of this subsection shall apply separately with respect to each election, except that all elections held in any calendar year for the office of President of the United States (except a general election for such office) shall be considered to be one election.

"(6) For purposes of the limitations imposed by this section, all contributions made by a person, either directly or indirectly, on behalf of a particular candidate, including contributions which are in any way earmarked or otherwise directed through an intermediary or conduit to such candidate, shall be treated as contributions from such person to such candidate. The intermediary or conduit shall report the original source and the intended recipient of such contribution to the Commission and to the intended recipient.

"(c) (1) No candidate shall make expenditures in excess of—

"(A) \$10,000,000, in the case of a candidate for nomination for election to the office of President of the United States, except that the aggregate of expenditures under this subparagraph in any one State shall not exceed twice the expenditure limitation applicable in such State to a candidate for nomination for election to the office of Senator, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner, as the case may be;

"(B) \$20,000,000, in the case of a candidate for election to the office of President of the United States;

"(C) in the case of any campaign for nomination for election by a candidate for the office of Senator or by a candidate for the office of Representative from a State which is entitled to only one Representative, the greater of—

"(i) 8 cents multiplied by the voting age population of the State (as certified under subsection (g)); or

"(ii) \$100,000;

"(D) in the case of any campaign for election by a candidate for the office of Senator or by a candidate for the office of Representative from a State which is entitled to only one Representative, the greater of—

"(i) 12 cents multiplied by the voting age population of the State (as certified under subsection (g)); or

"(ii) \$150,000;

"(E) \$70,000, in the case of any campaign for nomination for election, or for election, by a candidate for the office of Representative in any other State, Delegate from the District of Columbia, or Resident Commissioner; or

"(F) \$15,000, in the case of any campaign for nomination for election, or for election, by a candidate for the office of Delegate from Guam or the Virgin Islands.

"(2) For purposes of this subsection—

"(A) expenditures made by or on behalf of any candidate nominated by a political party for election to the office of Vice President of the United States shall be considered to be expenditures made by or on behalf of the candidate of such party for election to the office of President of the United States; and

"(B) an expenditure is made on behalf of a candidate, including a Vice Presidential candidate, if it is made by—

"(i) an authorized committee or any other agent of the candidate for the purposes of making any expenditure; or

"(ii) any person authorized or requested by the candidate, an authorized committee of the candidate, or an agent of the candidate, to make the expenditure.

"(3) The limitations imposed by subparagraphs (C), (D), (E), and (F) of paragraph (1) of this subsection shall apply separately with respect to each election.

"(4) The Commission shall prescribe rules under which any expenditure by a candidate for Presidential nomination for use in 2 or more

Rules.

States shall be attributed to such candidate's expenditure limitation in each such State, based on the voting age population in such State which can reasonably be expected to be influenced by such expenditure.

"(d) (1) At the beginning of each calendar year (commencing in 1976), as there become available necessary data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, the Secretary of Labor shall certify to the Commission and publish in the Federal Register the per centum difference between the price index for the 12 months preceding the beginning of such calendar year and the price index for the base period. Each limitation established by subsection (c) and subsection (f) shall be increased by such per centum difference. Each amount so increased shall be the amount in effect for such calendar year.

"(2) For purposes of paragraph (1)—

"(A) the term 'price index' means the average over a calendar year of the Consumer Price Index (all items—United States city average) published monthly by the Bureau of Labor Statistics; and

"(B) the term 'base period' means the calendar year 1974.

"(e) (1) No person may make any expenditure (other than an expenditure made by or on behalf of a candidate within the meaning of subsection (c) (2) (B)) relative to a clearly identified candidate during a calendar year which, when added to all other expenditures made by such person during the year advocating the election or defeat of such candidate, exceeds \$1,000.

"(2) For purposes of paragraph (1)—

"(A) 'clearly identified' means—

"(i) the candidate's name appears;

"(ii) a photograph or drawing of the candidate appears; or

"(iii) the identity of the candidate is apparent by unambiguous reference; and

"(B) 'expenditure' does not include any payment made or incurred by a corporation or a labor organization which, under the provisions of the last paragraph of section 610, would not constitute an expenditure by such corporation or labor organization.

"(f) (1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law with respect to limitations on expenditures or limitations on contributions, the national committee of a political party and a State committee of a political party, including any subordinate committee of a State committee, may make expenditures in connection with the general election campaign of candidates for Federal office, subject to the limitations contained in paragraphs (2) and (3) of this subsection.

"(2) The national committee of a political party may not make any expenditure in connection with the general election campaign of any candidate for President of the United States who is affiliated with such party which exceeds an amount equal to 2 cents multiplied by the voting age population of the United States (as certified under subsection (g)). Any expenditure under this paragraph shall be in addition to any expenditure by a national committee of a political party serving as the principal campaign committee of a candidate for the office of President of the United States.

"(3) The national committee of a political party, or a State committee of a political party, including any subordinate committee of a State committee, may not make any expenditure in connection with the general election campaign of a candidate for Federal office in a State who is affiliated with such party which exceeds—

Publication in
Federal Register.

"Price index."

"Base period."

"Clearly
identified."

"(A) in the case of a candidate for election to the office of Senator, or of Representative from a State which is entitled to only one Representative, the greater of—

"(i) 2 cents multiplied by the voting age population of the State (as certified under subsection (g)); or

"(ii) \$20,000; and

"(B) in the case of a candidate for election to the office of Representative, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner in any other State, \$10,000.

"(g) During the first week of January 1975, and every subsequent year, the Secretary of Commerce shall certify to the Commission and publish in the Federal Register an estimate of the voting age population of the United States, of each State, and of each congressional district as of the first day of July next preceding the date of certification. The term 'voting age population' means resident population, 18 years of age or older.

"(h) No candidate or political committee shall knowingly accept any contribution or make any expenditure in violation of the provisions of this section. No officer or employee of a political committee shall knowingly accept a contribution made for the benefit or use of a candidate, or knowingly make any expenditure on behalf of a candidate, in violation of any limitation imposed on contributions and expenditures under this section.

"(i) Any person who violates any provision of this section shall be fined not more than \$25,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both."

(b) (1) Section 608(a) (1) of title 18, United States Code, relating to limitations on contributions and expenditures, is amended to read as follows:

"(a) (1) No candidate may make expenditures from his personal funds, or the personal funds of his immediate family, in connection with his campaigns during any calendar year for nomination for election, or for election, to Federal office in excess of, in the aggregate—

"(A) \$50,000, in the case of a candidate for the office of President or Vice President of the United States;

"(B) \$35,000, in the case of a candidate for the office of Senator or for the office of Representative from a State which is entitled to only one Representative; or

"(C) \$25,000, in the case of a candidate for the office of Representative, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner, in any other State.

For purposes of this paragraph, any expenditure made in a year other than the calendar year in which the election is held with respect to which such expenditure was made, is considered to be made during the calendar year in which such election is held."

(2) Such section 608(a) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

"(3) No candidate or his immediate family may make loans or advances from their personal funds in connection with his campaign for nomination for election, or for election, to Federal office unless such loan or advance is evidenced by a written instrument fully disclosing the terms and conditions of such loan or advance.

"(4) For purposes of this subsection, any such loan or advance shall be included in computing the total amount of such expenditures only to the extent of the balance of such loan or advance outstanding and unpaid."

(c) (1) Notwithstanding section 608(a) (1) of title 18, United States Code, relating to limitations on expenditures from personal funds, any individual may satisfy or discharge, out of his personal funds or the

Voting age population estimates, certification and publication in Federal Register.
"Voting age population."

Violations, penalties.

18 USC 608 note.

personal funds of his immediate family, any debt or obligation which is outstanding on the date of the enactment of this Act and which was incurred by him or on his behalf by any political committee in connection with any campaign ending before the close of December 31, 1972, for election to Federal office.

(2) For purposes of this subsection—

(A) the terms "election", "Federal office", and "political committee" have the meanings given them by section 591 of title 18, United States Code; and

(B) the term "immediate family" has the meaning given it by section 608(a) (2) of title 18, United States Code.

(d) (1) The first paragraph of section 613 of title 18, United States Code, relating to contributions by certain foreign agents, is amended—

(A) by striking out "an agent of a foreign principal" and inserting in lieu thereof "a foreign national"; and

(B) by striking out "either for or on behalf of such foreign principal or otherwise in his capacity as agent of such foreign principal,"

(2) The second paragraph of such section 613 is amended by striking out "agent of a foreign principal or from such foreign principal" and inserting in lieu thereof "foreign national".

(3) The fourth paragraph of such section 613 is amended to read as follows:

"As used in this section, the term 'foreign national' means—

"(1) a foreign principal, as such term is defined by section 1(b) of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 (22 U.S.C. 611(b)), except that the term 'foreign national' shall not include any individual who is a citizen of the United States; or

"(2) an individual who is not a citizen of the United States and who is not lawfully admitted for permanent residence, as defined by section 101(a) (20) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a) (20))."

(4) (A) The heading of such section 613 is amended by striking out "agents of foreign principals" and inserting in lieu thereof "foreign nationals".

(B) The table of sections for chapter 29 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking out the item relating to section 613 and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"613. Contributions by foreign nationals."

(e) (1) The second paragraph of section 610 of title 18, United States Code, relating to penalties for violating prohibitions against contributions or expenditures by national banks, corporations, or labor organizations, is amended—

(A) by striking out "\$5,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$25,000"; and

(B) by striking out "\$10,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$50,000".

(2) Section 611 of title 18, United States Code (as amended by section 103 of this Act), relating to contributions by firms or individuals contracting with the United States, is amended in the first paragraph thereof by striking out "\$5,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$25,000".

(3) The third paragraph of section 613 of title 18, United States Code (as amended by subsection (d) of this section), relating to contributions by foreign nationals, is amended by striking out "\$5,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$25,000".

(f) (1) Chapter 29 of title 18, United States Code, relating to elections and political activities, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

Definitions.

Post, p. 1269.

"Foreign national."

“§ 614. Prohibition of contributions in name of another

“(a) No person shall make a contribution in the name of another person or knowingly permit his name to be used to effect such a contribution, and no person shall knowingly accept a contribution made by one person in the name of another person.

Violation,
penalty.

“(b) Any person who violates this section shall be fined not more than \$25,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

“§ 615. Limitation on contributions of currency

“(a) No person shall make contributions of currency of the United States or currency of any foreign country to or for the benefit of any candidate which, in the aggregate, exceed \$100, with respect to any campaign of such candidate for nomination for election, or for election, to Federal office.

Violation,
penalty.

“(b) Any person who violates this section shall be fined not more than \$25,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

“§ 616. Acceptance of excessive honorariums

“Whoever, while an elected or appointed officer or employee of any branch of the Federal Government—

“(1) accepts any honorarium of more than \$1,000 (excluding amounts accepted for actual travel and subsistence expenses) for any appearance, speech, or article; or

“(2) accepts honorariums (not prohibited by paragraph (1) of this section) aggregating more than \$15,000 in any calendar year; shall be fined not less than \$1,000 nor more than \$5,000.

Penalty.

“§ 617. Fraudulent misrepresentation of campaign authority

“Whoever, being a candidate for Federal office or an employee or agent of such a candidate—

“(1) fraudulently misrepresents himself or any committee or organization under his control as speaking or writing or otherwise acting for or on behalf of any other candidate or political party or employee or agent thereof on a matter which is damaging to such other candidate or political party or employee or agent thereof; or

“(2) willfully and knowingly participates in or conspires to participate in any plan, scheme, or design to violate paragraph (1);

Penalty.

shall, for each such offense, be fined not more than \$25,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.”

(2) Section 591 of title 18, United States Code, relating to definitions, is amended by striking out the matter preceding paragraph (a) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

“Except as otherwise specifically provided, when used in this section and in sections 597, 599, 600, 602, 608, 610, 611, 614, 615, and 617 of this title—”

(3) The table of sections for chapter 29 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new items:

“614. Prohibition of contributions in name of another.

“615. Limitation on contributions of currency.

“616. Acceptance of excessive honorariums.

“617. Fraudulent misrepresentation of campaign authority.”

(4) Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is amended by striking out section 310, relating to prohibition of contributions in the name of another.

2 USC 440.

CHANGES IN CRIMINAL CODE DEFINITIONS

SEC. 102. (a) Paragraph (a) of section 591 of title 18, United States Code, relating to the definition of election, is amended—

(1) by inserting “or” before “(4)”; and

(2) by striking out “, and (5) the election of delegates to a constitutional convention for proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States”.

(b) Paragraph (2) of such section 591, relating to the definition of political committee, is amended to read as follows:

“(d) ‘political committee’ means any committee, club, association, or other group of persons which receives contributions or makes expenditures during a calendar year in an aggregate amount exceeding \$1,000;”

(c) Paragraph (e) of such section 591, relating to the definition of contribution, is amended to read as follows:

“(e) ‘contribution’—

“(1) means a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value (except a loan of money by a national or State bank made in accordance with the applicable banking laws and regulations and in the ordinary course of business, which shall be considered a loan by each endorser or guarantor, in that proportion of the unpaid balance thereof that each endorser or guarantor bears to the total number of endorsers or guarantors), made for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office or for the purpose of influencing the results of a primary held for the selection of delegates to a national nominating convention of a political party or for the expression of a preference for the nomination of persons for election to the office of President of the United States;

“(2) means a contract, promise, or agreement, express or implied, whether or not legally enforceable, to make a contribution for such purposes;

“(3) means funds received by a political committee which are transferred to such committee from another political committee or other source;

“(4) means the payment, by any person other than a candidate or a political committee, of compensation for the personal services of another person which are rendered to such candidate or political committee without charge for any such purpose; but

“(5) does not include—

“(A) the value of services provided without compensation by individuals who volunteer a portion or all of their time on behalf of a candidate or political committee;

“(B) the use of real or personal property and the cost of invitations, food, and beverages, voluntarily provided by an individual to a candidate in rendering voluntary personal services on the individual’s residential premises for candidate-related activities;

“(C) the sale of any food or beverage by a vendor for use in a candidate’s campaign at a charge less than the normal comparable charge, if such charge for use in a candidate’s campaign is at least equal to the cost of such food or beverage to the vendor;

“(D) any unreimbursed payment for travel expenses made by an individual who on his own behalf volunteers his personal services to a candidate, or

Definitions.

USC prec. title
1.

“(E) the payment by a State or local committee of a political party of the costs of preparation, display, or mailing or other distribution incurred by such committee with respect to a printed slate card or sample ballot, or other printed listing, of 3 or more candidates for any public office for which an election is held in the State in which such committee is organized, except that this clause shall not apply in the case of costs incurred by such committee with respect to a display of any such listing made on broadcasting stations, or in newspapers, magazines or other similar types of general public political advertising;

to the extent that the cumulative value of activities by any person on behalf of any candidate under each of clauses (B), (C), and (D) does not exceed \$500 with respect to any election.”.

Definitions. (d) Paragraph (f) of such section 591, relating to the definition of expenditure, is amended to read as follows:

“(f) ‘expenditure’—

“(1) means a purchase, payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money or anything of value (except a loan of money by a national or State bank made in accordance with the applicable banking laws and regulations and in the ordinary course of business), made for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office or for the purpose of influencing the results of a primary held for the selection of delegates to a national nominating convention of a political party or for the expression of a preference for the nomination of persons for election to the office of President of the United States;

“(2) means a contract, promise, or agreement, express or implied, whether or not legally enforceable, to make any expenditure; and

“(3) means the transfer of funds by a political committee to another political committee; but

“(4) does not include—

“(A) any news story, commentary, or editorial distributed through the facilities of any broadcasting station, newspaper, magazine, or other periodical publication, unless such facilities are owned or controlled by any political party, political committee, or candidate;

“(B) nonpartisan activity designed to encourage individuals to register to vote or to vote;

“(C) any communication by any membership organization or corporation to its members or stockholders, if such membership organization or corporation is not organized primarily for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office;

“(D) the use of real or personal property and the cost of invitations, food, and beverages, voluntarily provided by an individual to a candidate in rendering voluntary personal services on the individual’s residential premises for candidate-related activities;

“(E) any unreimbursed payment for travel expenses made by an individual who on his own behalf volunteers his personal services to a candidate;

“(F) any communication by any person which is not made for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office;

“(G) the payment by a State or local committee of a political party of the costs of preparation, display, or mailing or other distribution incurred by such committee with respect to a printed slate card or sample ballot, or other printed listing, of 3 or more candidates for any public office for which an election is held in the State in which such committee is organized, except that this clause shall not apply in the case of costs incurred by such committee with respect to a display of any such listing made on broadcasting stations, or in newspapers, magazines or other similar types of general public political advertising;

“(H) any costs incurred by a candidate in connection with the solicitation of contributions by such candidate, except that this clause shall not apply with respect to costs incurred by a candidate in excess of an amount equal to 20 percent of the expenditure limitation applicable to such candidate under section 608(c) of this title; or

“(I) any costs incurred by a political committee (as such term is defined by section 608(b)(2) of this title) with respect to the solicitation of contributions to such political committee or to any general political fund controlled by such political committee, except that this clause shall not apply to exempt costs incurred with respect to the solicitation of contributions to any such political committee made through broadcasting stations, newspapers, magazines, outdoor advertising facilities, and other similar types of general public political advertising;

to the extent that the cumulative value of activities by any individual on behalf of any candidate under each of clauses (D) or (E) does not exceed \$500 with respect to any election.”.

(e) Section 591 of title 18, United States Code, relating to definitions, is amended—

(1) by striking out “and” at the end of paragraph (g);

(2) by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (h) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon; and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

“(i) ‘political party’ means any association, committee, or organization which nominates a candidate for election to any Federal office whose name appears on the election ballot as the candidate of such association, committee, or organization;

“(j) ‘State committee’ means the organization which, by virtue of the bylaws of a political party, is responsible for the day-to-day operation of such political party at the State level, as determined by the Federal Election Commission;

“(k) ‘national committee’ means the organization which, by virtue of the bylaws of the political party, is responsible for the day-to-day operation of such political party at the national level, as determined by the Federal Election Commission established under section 310(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971; and

“(l) ‘principal campaign committee’ means the principal campaign committee designated by a candidate under section 302(f)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.”.

Ante, p. 1264.

Ante, p. 1263.

Definitions.

Post, p. 1280.

Post, p. 1275.

POLITICAL FUNDS OF CORPORATIONS OR LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

SEC. 103. Section 611 of title 18, United States Code, relating to contributions by firms or individuals contracting with the United States, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

"This section does not prohibit or make unlawful the establishment or administration of, or the solicitation of contributions to, any separate segregated fund by any corporation or labor organization for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office, unless the provisions of section 610 of this title prohibit or make unlawful the establishment or administration of, or the solicitation of contributions to, such fund.

"For purposes of this section, the term 'labor organization' has the meaning given it by section 610 of this title."

EFFECT ON STATE LAW

18 USC 591
note.

SEC. 104. (a) The provisions of chapter 29 of title 18, United States Code, relating to elections and political activities, supersede and preempt any provision of State law with respect to election to Federal office.

(b) For purposes of this section, the terms "election", "Federal office", and "State" have the meanings given them by section 591 of title 18, United States Code.

TITLE II—AMENDMENTS TO FEDERAL ELECTION
CAMPAIGN ACT OF 1971

CHANGES IN DEFINITIONS FOR REPORTING AND DISCLOSURE

2 USC 431.

SEC. 201. (a) Section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to definitions, is amended—

(1) by inserting "and title IV of this Act" after "title";

(2) by striking out ", and (5) the election of delegates to a constitutional convention for proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States" in paragraph (a), and by inserting "and" before "(4)" in such paragraph;

(3) by amending paragraph (d) to read as follows:

"(d) 'political committee' means any committee, club, association, or other group of persons which receives contributions or makes expenditures during a calendar year in an aggregate amount exceeding \$1,000;"

(4) by amending paragraph (e) to read as follows:

"(e) 'contribution'—

"(1) means a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value made for the purpose of—

"(A) influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office or for the purpose of influencing the results of a primary held for the selection of delegates to a national nominating convention of a political party, or

"(B) influencing the result of an election held for the expression of a preference for the nomination of persons for election to the office of President of the United States;

"(2) means a contract, promise, or agreement, expressed or implied, whether or not legally enforceable, to make a contribution for such purposes;

"(3) means funds received by a political committee which are transferred to such committee from another political committee or other source;

"(4) means the payment, by any person other than a candidate or a political committee, of compensation for the personal services of another person which are rendered to such candidate or political committee without charge for any such purpose; but

"(5) does not include—

"(A) the value of services provided without compensation by individuals who volunteer a portion or all of their time on behalf of a candidate or political committee;

"(B) the use of real or personal property and the cost of invitations, food, and beverages, voluntarily provided by an individual to a candidate in rendering voluntary personal services on the individual's residential premises for candidate-related activities;

"(C) the sale of any food or beverage by a vendor for use in a candidate's campaign at a charge less than the normal comparable charge, if such charge for use in a candidate's campaign is at least equal to the cost of such food or beverage to the vendor;

"(D) any unreimbursed payment for travel expenses made by an individual who on his own behalf volunteers his personal services to a candidate;

"(E) the payment by a State or local committee of a political party of the costs of preparation, display, or mailing or other distribution incurred by such committee with respect to a printed slate card or sample ballot, or other printed listing, of 3 or more candidates for any public office for which an election is held in the State in which such committee is organized, except that this clause shall not apply in the case of costs incurred by such committee with respect to a display of any such listing made on broadcasting stations, or in newspapers, magazines or other similar types of general public political advertising; or

"(F) any payment made or obligation incurred by a corporation or a labor organization which, under the provisions of the last paragraph of section 610 of title 18, United States Code, would not constitute an expenditure by such corporation or labor organization;

to the extent that the cumulative value of activities by any individual on behalf of any candidate under each of clauses (B), (C), and (D) does not exceed \$500 with respect to any election;"

(5) by striking out paragraph (f) and inserting in lieu thereof 2 USC 431. the following:

"(f) 'expenditure'—

"(1) means a purchase, payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money or anything of value, made for the purpose of—

"(A) influencing the nomination for election, or the election, of any person to Federal office, or to the office of presidential and vice-presidential elector; or

"(B) influencing the results of a primary election held for the selection of delegates to a national nominating convention of a political party or for the expression of

a preference for the nomination of persons for election to the office of President of the United States;

"(2) means a contract, promise, or agreement, express or implied, whether or not legally enforceable, to make any expenditure;

"(3) means the transfer of funds by a political committee to another political committee; but

"(4) does not include—

"(A) any news story, commentary, or editorial distributed through the facilities of any broadcasting station, newspaper, magazine, or other periodical publication, unless such facilities are owned or controlled by any political party, political committee, or candidate;

"(B) nonpartisan activity designed to encourage individuals to register to vote or to vote;

"(C) any communication by any membership organization or corporation to its members or stockholders, if such membership organization or corporation is not organized primarily for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office;

"(D) the use of real or personal property and the cost of invitations, food, and beverages, voluntarily provided by an individual to a candidate in rendering voluntary personal services on the individual's residential premises for candidate-related activities if the cumulative value of such activities by such individual on behalf of any candidate do not exceed \$500 with respect to any election;

"(E) any unreimbursed payment for travel expenses made by an individual who on his own behalf volunteers his personal services to a candidate if the cumulative amount for such individual incurred with respect to such candidate does not exceed \$500 with respect to any election;

"(F) any communication by any person which is not made for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office; or

"(G) the payment by a State or local committee of a political party of the costs of preparation, display, or mailing or other distribution incurred by such committee with respect to a printed slate card or sample ballot, or other printed listing, of 3 or more candidates for any public office for which an election is held in the State in which such committee is organized, except that this clause shall not apply in the case of costs incurred by such committee with respect to a display of any such listing made on broadcasting stations, or in newspapers, magazines or other similar types of general public political advertising; or

"(H) any payment made or obligation incurred by a corporation or a labor organization which, under the provisions of the last paragraph of section 610 of title 18, United States Code, would not constitute an expenditure by such corporation or labor organization;"

- (6) by striking "and" at the end of paragraph (h);
- (7) by striking the period at the end of paragraph (i) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon; and
- (8) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

2 USC 431.

"(j) 'identification' means—

"(1) in the case of an individual, his full name and the full address of his principal place of residence; and

"(2) in the case of any other person, the full name and address of such person;

"(k) 'national committee' means the organization which, by virtue of the bylaws of a political party, is responsible for the day-to-day operation of such political party at the national level, as determined by the Commission;

"(l) 'State committee' means the organization which, by virtue of the bylaws of a political party, is responsible for the day-to-day operation of such political party at the State level, as determined by the Commission;

"(m) 'political party' means an association, committee, or organization which nominates a candidate for election to any Federal office, whose name appears on the election ballot as the candidate of such association, committee, or organization; and

"(n) 'principal campaign committee' means the principal campaign committee designated by a candidate under section 302 (f) (1)."

(b) (1) Section 401 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to extension of credit by regulated industries, is amended by striking out "(as such term is defined in section 301 (c) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971)". ^{Infra.} 2 USC 451.

(2) Section 402 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to prohibition against use of certain Federal funds for election activities, is amended by striking out the last sentence. 2 USC 431. 2 USC 452.

ORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL COMMITTEES; PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

SEC. 202. (a) (1) Section 302 (b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to reports of contributions in excess of \$10, is amended by striking out "the name and address (occupation and principal place of business, if any)" and inserting in lieu thereof "of the contribution and the identification". 2 USC 432.

(2) Section 302 (c) of such Act, relating to detailed accounts, is amended by striking out "full name and mailing address (occupation and the principal place of business, if any)" in paragraphs (2) and (4) and inserting in lieu thereof in each such paragraph "identification".

(3) Section 302 (c) of such Act is further amended by striking out the semicolon at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting in lieu thereof "and, if a person's contributions aggregate more than \$100, the account shall include occupation, and the principal place of business (if any);".

(b) Section 302 (f) of such Act is amended to read as follows:

"(f) (1) Each individual who is a candidate for Federal office (other than the office of Vice President of the United States) shall designate a political committee to serve as his principal campaign committee. No political committee may be designated as the principal campaign committee of more than one candidate, except that the candidate for the office of President of the United States nominated by a political party may designate the national committee of such political party as his principal campaign committee. Except as provided in the preceding sentence, no political committee which supports more than one candidate may be designated as a principal campaign committee.

"(2) Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, each report or statement of contributions received or expenditures made by a political committee (other than a principal campaign committee) ^{Reports,} _{filing.}

which is required to be filed with the Commission under this title shall be filed instead with the principal campaign committee for the candidate on whose behalf such contributions are accepted or such expenditures are made.

"(3) It shall be the duty of each principal campaign committee to receive all reports and statements required to be filed with it under paragraph (2) of this subsection and to compile and file such reports and statements, together with its own reports and statements, with the Commission in accordance with the provisions of this title."

REGISTRATION OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE; STATEMENTS

2 USC 433.

SEC. 203. Section 303 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to registration of political committees and statements, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(e) In the case of a political committee which is not a principal campaign committee, reports and notifications required under this section to be filed with the Commission shall be filed instead with the appropriate principal campaign committee."

REPORTS BY POLITICAL COMMITTEES AND CANDIDATES

2 USC 434.

SEC. 204. (a) Section 304(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to reports by political committees and candidates, is amended—

(1) by striking out the second and third sentences and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"The reports referred to in the preceding sentence shall be filed as follows:

"(A) (i) In any calendar year in which an individual is a candidate for Federal office and an election for such Federal office is held in such year, such reports shall be filed not later than the tenth day before the date on which such election is held and shall be complete as of the fifteenth day before the date of such election; except that any such report filed by registered or certified mail must be postmarked not later than the close of the twelfth day before the date of such election.

"(ii) Such reports shall be filed not later than the thirtieth day after the date of such election and shall be complete as of the twentieth day after the date of such election.

"(B) In any other calendar year in which an individual is a candidate for Federal office, such reports shall be filed after December 31 of such calendar year, but not later than January 31 of the following calendar year and shall be complete as of the close of the calendar year with respect to which the report is filed.

"(C) Such reports shall be filed not later than the tenth day following the close of any calendar quarter in which the candidate or political committee concerned received contributions in excess of \$1,000, or made expenditures in excess of \$1,000, and shall be complete as of the close of such calendar quarter: except that any such report required to be filed after December 31 of any calendar year with respect to which a report is required to be filed under subparagraph (B) shall be filed as provided in such subparagraph.

"(D) When the last day for filing any quarterly report required by subparagraph (C) occurs within 10 days of an election, the filing of such quarterly report shall be waived and superseded by the report required by subparagraph (A) (i).

Any contribution of \$1,000 or more received after the fifteenth day, but more than 48 hours, before any election shall be reported within 48 hours after its receipt."; and

(2) by striking out "Each" at the beginning of the first sentence of such section 304(a) and inserting in lieu thereof "(1) Except as provided by paragraph (2), each", and by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

2 USC 434.

"(2) Each treasurer of a political committee which is not a principal campaign committee shall file the reports required under this section with the appropriate principal campaign committee.

Waiver.

"(3) Upon a request made by a presidential candidate or a political committee which operates in more than one State, or upon its own motion, the Commission may waive the reporting dates set forth in paragraph (1) (other than the reporting date set forth in paragraph (1) (B)), and require instead that such candidate or political committee file reports not less frequently than monthly. The Commission may not require a presidential candidate or a political committee operating in more than one State to file more than 12 reports (not counting any report referred to in paragraph (1) (B)) during any calendar year. If the Commission acts on its own motion under this paragraph with respect to a candidate or a political committee, such candidate or committee may obtain judicial review in accordance with the provisions of chapter 7 of title 5, United States Code."

5 USC 701.

(b) (1) Section 304(b) (5) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to reports by political committees and candidates, is amended by striking out "lender and endorsers" and inserting in lieu thereof "lender, endorsers, and guarantors".

(2) Section 304(b) (8) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to reports by political committees and candidates, is amended by inserting immediately before the semicolon at the end thereof the following: "together with total receipts less transfers between political committees which support the same candidate and which do not support more than one candidate".

(3) Section 304(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to reports by political committees and candidates, is amended by striking out "full name and mailing address (occupation and the principal place of business, if any)" in paragraphs (9) and (10) and inserting in lieu thereof in each such paragraph "identification".

(4) Section 304(b) (11) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to reports by political committees and candidates, is amended by inserting immediately before the semicolon at the end thereof the following: "together with total expenditures less transfers between political committees which support the same candidate and which do not support more than one candidate".

(5) Section 304(b) (12) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to reports by political committees and candidates, is amended by inserting immediately before the semicolon a comma and the following: "together with a statement as to the circumstances and conditions under which any such debt or obligation is extinguished and the consideration therefor".

(c) Such section 304 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

Members of Congress, reporting exemption.

"(d) This section does not require a Member of the Congress to report, as contributions received or as expenditures made, the value of photographic, matting, or recording services furnished to him by the Senate Recording Studio, the House Recording Studio, or by an individual whose pay is disbursed by the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House of Representatives and who furnishes such services as his primary duty as an employee of the Senate or House of Rep-

representatives, or if such services were paid for by the Republican or Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, the Democratic National Congressional Committee, or the National Republican Congressional Committee. This subsection does not apply to such recording services furnished during the calendar year before the year in which the Member's term expires.

"(e) Every person (other than a political committee or candidate) who makes contributions or expenditures, other than by contribution to a political committee or candidate, in an aggregate amount in excess of \$100 within a calendar year shall file with the Commission a statement containing the information required by this section. Statements required by this subsection shall be filed on the dates on which reports by political committees are filed but need not be cumulative."

(d) The heading for such section 304 is amended to read as follows:

"REPORTS".

(e) Notwithstanding the amendment to section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to the time for filing reports, made by the foregoing provisions of this section, nothing in this Act shall be construed to waive the report required to be filed by the thirty-first day of January of 1975 under the provisions of such section 304, as in effect on the date of the enactment of this Act.

CAMPAIGN ADVERTISEMENTS

SEC. 205. (a) Section 305 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to reports by others than political committees, is amended to read as follows:

"REQUIREMENTS RELATING TO CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING

"SEC. 305. (a) No person who sells space in a newspaper or magazine to a candidate, or to the agent of a candidate, for use in connection with such candidate's campaign, may charge any amount for such space which exceeds the amount charged for comparable use of such space for other purposes.

"(b) Each political committee shall include on the face or front page of all literature and advertisements soliciting contributions the following notice:

"A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C."

(b) Title I of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is repealed.

WAIVER OF REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

SEC. 206. Section 306(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as so redesignated by section 207 of this Act), relating to formal requirements respecting reports and statements, is amended to read as follows:

"(b) The Commission may, by a rule of general applicability which is published in the Federal Register not less than 30 days before its effective date, relieve—

"(1) any category of candidates of the obligation to comply personally with the reporting requirements of section 304, if it determines that such action is consistent with the purposes of this Act; and

"(2) any category of political committees of the obligation to comply with the reporting requirements of such section if such committees—

"(A) primarily support persons seeking State or local office; and

"(B) do not operate in more than one State or do not operate on a statewide basis."

FORMAL REQUIREMENTS FOR REPORTS AND STATEMENTS

SEC. 207. Section 306 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to formal requirements respecting reports and statements, is amended by striking out subsection (a); by redesignating subsections (b), (c), and (d) as subsections (a), (b), and (c), respectively; and by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) If a report or statement required by section 303, 304(a)(1)(A)(ii), 304(a)(1)(B), 304(a)(1)(C), or 304(e) of this title to be filed by a treasurer of a political committee or by a candidate or by any other person, is delivered by registered or certified mail, to the Commission or principal campaign committee with which it is required to be filed, the United States postmark stamped on the cover of the envelope or other container in which such report or statement is so mailed shall be deemed to be the date of filing."

REPORTS BY CERTAIN ORGANIZATIONS; FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION; CAMPAIGN DEPOSITORIES

SEC. 208. (a) Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to disclosure of Federal campaign funds, is amended by redesignating sections 308 and 309 as sections 316 and 317, respectively; by redesignating section 311 as section 321; and by inserting immediately after section 307 the following new sections:

"REPORTS BY CERTAIN PERSONS

"SEC. 308. Any person (other than an individual) who expends any funds or commits any act directed to the public for the purpose of influencing the outcome of an election, or who publishes or broadcasts to the public any material referring to a candidate (by name, description, or other reference) advocating the election or defeat of such candidate, setting forth the candidate's position on any public issue, his voting record, or other official acts (in the case of a candidate who holds or has held Federal office), or otherwise designed to influence individuals to cast their votes for or against such candidate or to withhold their votes from such candidate shall file reports with the Commission as if such person were a political committee. The reports filed by such person shall set forth the source of the funds used in carrying out any activity described in the preceding sentence in the same detail as if the funds were contributions within the meaning of section 301(e), and payments of such funds in the same detail as if they were expenditures within the meaning of section 301(f). The provisions of this section do not apply to any publication or broadcast of the United States Government or to any news story, commentary, or editorial distributed through the facilities of a broadcasting station or a bona fide newspaper, magazine, or other periodical publication. A news story, commentary, or editorial is not considered to be distributed through a bona fide newspaper, magazine, or other periodical publication if—

Savings provision.
2 USC 434 note.

2 USC 435.

Funds, solicitation, notice.

Repeal.
47 USC 801.

2 USC 436.

Publication in Federal Register.

Ante, p. 1276.

2 USC 436.

Ante, p. 1276.

2 USC 438,
439.

2 USC 437a.

Ante, p. 1272.

Ante, p. 1273.

"(1) such publication is primarily for distribution to individuals affiliated by membership or stock ownership with the person (other than an individual) distributing it or causing it to be distributed, and not primarily for purchase by the public at newsstands or by paid subscription; or

"(2) the news story, commentary, or editorial is distributed by a person (other than an individual) who devotes a substantial part of his activities to attempting to influence the outcome of elections, or to influence public opinion with respect to matters of national or State policy or concern.

"CAMPAIGN DEPOSITORIES

2 USC 437b.

"SEC. 309. (a) (1) Each candidate shall designate one or more national or State banks as his campaign depositories. The principal campaign committee of such candidate, and any other political committee authorized by him to receive contributions or to make expenditures on his behalf, shall maintain a checking account at a depository designated by the candidate and shall deposit any contributions received by such committee into such account. A candidate shall deposit any payment received by him under chapter 95 or chapter 97 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 in the account maintained by his principal campaign committee. No expenditure may be made by any such committee on behalf of a candidate or to influence his election except by check drawn on such account, other than petty cash expenditures as provided in subsection (b).

26 USC 9001.

"(2) The treasurer of each political committee (other than a political committee authorized by a candidate to receive contributions or to make expenditures on his behalf) shall designate one or more national or State banks as campaign depositories of such committee, and shall maintain a checking account for the committee at each such depository. All contributions received by such committee shall be deposited in such accounts. No expenditure may be made by such committee except by check drawn on such accounts, other than petty cash expenditures as provided in subsection (b).

"(b) A political committee may maintain a petty cash fund out of which it may make expenditures not in excess of \$100 to any person in connection with a single purchase or transaction. A record of petty cash disbursements shall be kept in accordance with requirements established by the Commission, and such statements and reports there-of shall be furnished to the Commission as it may require.

"(c) A candidate for nomination for election, or for election, to the office of President of the United States may establish one such depository in each State, which shall be considered as his campaign depository for such State by his principal campaign committee and any other political committee authorized by him to receive contributions or to make expenditures on his behalf in such State, under rules prescribed by the Commission. The campaign depository of the candidate of a political party for election to the office of Vice President of the United States shall be the campaign depository designated by the candidate of such party for election to the office of President of the United States.

"FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Establishment.
2 USC 437c.
Membership.

"SEC. 310. (a) (1) There is established a commission to be known as the Federal Election Commission. The Commission is composed of the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives, ex officio and without the right to vote, and 6 members appointed as follows:

"(A) 2 shall be appointed, with the confirmation of a majority of both Houses of the Congress, by the President pro tempore of the Senate upon the recommendations of the majority leader of the Senate and the minority leader of the Senate;

"(B) 2 shall be appointed, with the confirmation of a majority of both Houses of the Congress, by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, upon the recommendations of the majority leader of the House and the minority leader of the House; and

"(C) 2 shall be appointed, with the confirmation of a majority of both Houses of the Congress, by the President of the United States.

A member appointed under subparagraph (A), (B), or (C) shall not be affiliated with the same political party as the other member appointed under such paragraph.

"(2) Members of the Commission shall serve for terms of 6 years, except that of the members first appointed—

Term.

"(A) one of the members appointed under paragraph (1) (A) shall be appointed for a term ending on the April 30 first occurring more than 6 months after the date on which he is appointed;

"(B) one of the members appointed under paragraph (1) (B) shall be appointed for a term ending 1 year after the April 30 on which the term of the member referred to in subparagraph (A) of this paragraph ends;

"(C) one of the members appointed under paragraph (1) (C) shall be appointed for a term ending 2 years thereafter;

"(D) one of the members appointed under paragraph (1) (A) shall be appointed for a term ending 3 years thereafter;

"(E) one of the members appointed under paragraph (1) (B) shall be appointed for a term ending 4 years thereafter; and

"(F) one of the members appointed under paragraph (1) (C) shall be appointed for a term ending 5 years thereafter.

An individual appointed to fill a vacancy occurring other than by the expiration of a term of office shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the member he succeeds. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the Commission shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original appointment.

Vacancies.

"(3) Members shall be chosen on the basis of their maturity, experience, integrity, impartiality, and good judgment and shall be chosen from among individuals who, at the time of their appointment, are not elected or appointed officers or employees in the executive, legislative, or judicial branch of the Government of the United States.

"(4) Members of the Commission (other than the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives) shall receive compensation equivalent to the compensation paid at level IV of the Executive Schedule (5 U.S.C. 5315).

Compensation.

"(5) The Commission shall elect a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members (other than the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives) for a term of one year. No member may serve as chairman more often than once during any term of office to which he is appointed. The chairman and the vice chairman shall not be affiliated with the same political party. The vice chairman shall act as chairman in the absence or disability of the chairman, or in the event of a vacancy in such office.

83 Stat. 863.
Chairman and
vice chairman.

"(b) The Commission shall administer, seek to obtain compliance with, and formulate policy with respect to this Act and sections 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, and 617 of title 18, United States Code. The Commission has primary jurisdiction with respect to the civil enforcement of such provisions.

Ante, pp. 1263,
1268.
Jurisdiction.

"(c) All decisions of the Commission with respect to the exercise of its duties and powers under the provisions of this title shall be made by a majority vote of the members of the Commission. A member of the Commission may not delegate to any person his vote or any decisionmaking authority or duty vested in the Commission by the provisions of this title.

Meetings. "(d) The Commission shall meet at least once each month and also at the call of any member.

Rules. Seal. "(e) The Commission shall prepare written rules for the conduct of its activities, shall have an official seal which shall be judicially noticed, and shall have its principal office in or near the District of Columbia (but it may meet or exercise any of its powers anywhere in the United States).

Staff director and general counsel. 83 Stat. 863. "(f) (1) The Commission shall have a staff director and a general counsel who shall be appointed by the Commission. The staff director shall be paid at a rate not to exceed the rate of basic pay in effect for level IV of the Executive Schedule (5 U.S.C. 5315). The general counsel shall be paid at a rate not to exceed the rate of basic pay in effect for level V of the Executive Schedule (5 U.S.C. 5316). With the approval of the Commission, the staff director may appoint and fix the pay of such additional personnel as he considers desirable.

5 USC 5332 note. "(2) With the approval of the Commission, the staff director may procure temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized by section 3109(b) of title 5, United States Code, but at rates for individuals not to exceed the daily equivalent of the annual rate of basic pay in effect for grade GS-15 of the General Schedule (5 U.S.C. 5332).

"(3) In carrying out its responsibilities under this Act, the Commission shall, to the fullest extent practicable, avail itself of the assistance, including personnel and facilities, of other agencies and departments of the United States Government. The heads of such agencies and departments may make available to the Commission such personnel, facilities, and other assistance, with or without reimbursement, as the Commission may request.

"POWERS OF COMMISSION

2 USC 437d. "SEC. 311. (a) The Commission has the power—

"(1) to require, by special or general orders, any person to submit in writing such reports and answers to questions as the Commission may prescribe; and such submission shall be made within such a reasonable period of time and under oath or otherwise as the Commission may determine;

"(2) to administer oaths or affirmations;

"(3) to require by subpoena, signed by the chairman or the vice chairman, the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of all documentary evidence relating to the execution of its duties;

"(4) in any proceeding or investigation, to order testimony to be taken by deposition before any person who is designated by the Commission and has the power to administer oaths and, in such instances, to compel testimony and the production of evidence in the same manner as authorized under paragraph (3) of this subsection;

"(5) to pay witnesses the same fees and mileage as are paid in like circumstances in the courts of the United States;

"(6) to initiate (through civil proceedings for injunctive, declaratory, or other appropriate relief), defend, or appeal any civil action in the name of the Commission for the purpose of

enforcing the provisions of this Act, through its general counsel;

"(7) to render advisory opinions under section 313;

"(8) to make, amend, and repeal such rules, pursuant to the provisions of chapter 5 of title 5, United States Code, as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act;

"(9) to formulate general policy with respect to the administration of this Act and sections 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, and 617 of title 18, United States Code;

"(10) to develop prescribed forms under section 311(a)(1); and

"(11) to conduct investigations and hearings expeditiously, to encourage voluntary compliance, and to report apparent violations to the appropriate law enforcement authorities.

"(b) Any United States district court within the jurisdiction of which any inquiry is carried on, may, upon petition by the Commission, in case of refusal to obey a subpoena or order of the Commission issued under subsection (a) of this section, issue an order requiring compliance therewith. Any failure to obey the order of the court may be punished by the court as a contempt thereof.

"(c) No person shall be subject to civil liability to any person (other than the Commission or the United States) for disclosing information at the request of the Commission.

"(d) (1) Whenever the Commission submits any budget estimate or request to the President of the United States or the Office of Management and Budget, it shall concurrently transmit a copy of such estimate or request to the Congress.

"(2) Whenever the Commission submits any legislative recommendations, or testimony, or comments on legislation, requested by the Congress or by any Member of the Congress, to the President of the United States or the Office of Management and Budget, it shall concurrently transmit a copy thereof to the Congress or to the Member requesting the same. No officer or agency of the United States shall have any authority to require the Commission to submit its legislative recommendations, testimony, or comments on legislation, to any office or agency of the United States for approval, comments, or review, prior to the submission of such recommendations, testimony, or comments to the Congress.

"REPORTS

"SEC. 312. The Commission shall transmit reports to the President of the United States and to each House of the Congress no later than March 31 of each year. Each such report shall contain a detailed statement with respect to the activities of the Commission in carrying out its duties under this title, together with recommendations for such legislative or other action as the Commission considers appropriate.

"ADVISORY OPINIONS

"SEC. 313. (a) Upon written request to the Commission by any individual holding Federal office, any candidate for Federal office, or any political committee, the Commission shall render an advisory opinion, in writing, within a reasonable time with respect to whether any specific transaction or activity by such individual, candidate, or political committee would constitute a violation of this Act, of chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, or of section 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, or 617 of title 18, United States Code.

"(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any person with respect to whom an advisory opinion is rendered under subsection (a) who acts in good faith in accordance with the provisions and findings

Infra. 5 USC 500.

Ante, pp. 1263, 1268.

Budget estimates or requests, copies, transmittal to Congress.

Reports to President and Congress. 2 USC 437e.

2 USC 437f.

26 USC 9001, 9021.

26 USC 9001,
9021.

Ante, pp. 1263,
1268.

of such advisory opinion shall be presumed to be in compliance with the provision of this Act, of chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, or of section 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, or 617 of title 18, United States Code, with respect to which such advisory opinion is rendered.

“(c) Any request made under subsection (a) shall be made public by the Commission. The Commission shall, before rendering an advisory opinion with respect to such request, provide any interested party with an opportunity to transmit written comments to the Commission with respect to such request.

“ENFORCEMENT

Complaints,
filing.

2 USC 437g.

“SEC. 314. (a) (1) (A) Any person who believes a violation of this Act or of section 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, or 617 of title 18, United States Code, has occurred may file a complaint with the Commission.

“(B) In any case in which the Clerk of the House of Representatives or the Secretary of the Senate (who receive reports and statements as custodian for the Commission) has reason to believe a violation of this Act or section 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, or 617 of title 18, United States Code, has occurred, he shall refer such apparent violation to the Commission.

“(2) The Commission, upon receiving any complaint under paragraph (1) (A), or a referral under paragraph (1) (B), or if it has reason to believe that any person has committed a violation of any such provision, shall notify the person involved of such apparent violation and shall—

“(A) report such apparent violation to the Attorney General;

or

“(B) make an investigation of such apparent violation.

“(3) Any investigation under paragraph (2) (B) shall be conducted expeditiously and shall include an investigation of reports and statements filed by any complainant under this title, if such complainant is a candidate. Any notification or investigation made under paragraph (2) shall not be made public by the Commission or by any other person without the written consent of the person receiving such notification or the person with respect to whom such investigation is made.

“(4) The Commission shall, at the request of any person who receives notice of an apparent violation under paragraph (2), conduct a hearing with respect to such apparent violation.

“(5) If the Commission determines, after investigation, that there is reason to believe that any person has engaged, or is about to engage in any acts or practices which constitute or will constitute a violation of this Act, it may endeavor to correct such violation by informal methods of conference, conciliation, and persuasion. If the Commission fails to correct the violation through informal methods, it may institute a civil action for relief, including a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or any other appropriate order in the district court of the United States for the district in which the person against whom such action is brought is found, resides, or transacts business. Upon a proper showing that such person has engaged or is about to engage in such acts or practices, the court shall grant a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order.

“(6) The Commission shall refer apparent violations to the appropriate law enforcement authorities to the extent that violations of provisions of chapter 29 of title 18, United States Code, are involved, or if the Commission is unable to correct apparent violations of this Act under the authority given it by paragraph (5), or if the Commission determines that any such referral is appropriate.

Hearing.

Civil action
for relief.

18 USC 591.

“(7) Whenever in the judgment of the Commission, after affording due notice and an opportunity for a hearing, any person has engaged or is about to engage in any acts or practices which constitute or will constitute a violation of any provision of this Act or of section 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, or 617 of title 18, United States Code, upon request by the Commission the Attorney General on behalf of the United States shall institute a civil action for relief, including a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or any other appropriate order in the district court of the United States for the district in which the person is found, resides, or transacts business. Upon a proper showing that such person has engaged or is about to engage in such acts or practices, a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order shall be granted without bond by such court.

“(8) In any action brought under paragraph (5) or (7) of this subsection, subpoenas for witnesses who are required to attend a United States district court may run into any other district.

“(9) Any party aggrieved by an order granted under paragraph (5) or (7) of this subsection may, at any time within 60 days after the date of entry thereof, file a petition with the United States court of appeals for the circuit in which such order was issued for judicial review of such order.

“(10) The judgment of the court of appeals affirming or setting aside, in whole or in part, any such order of the district court shall be final, subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States upon certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 of title 28, United States Code.

“(11) Any action brought under this subsection shall be advanced on the docket of the court in which filed, and put ahead of all other actions (other than other actions brought under this subsection or under section 315).

“(b) In any case in which the Commission refers an apparent violation to the Attorney General, the Attorney General shall respond by report to the Commission with respect to any action taken by the Attorney General regarding such apparent violation. Each report shall be transmitted no later than 60 days after the date the Commission refers any apparent violation, and at the close of every 30-day period thereafter until there is final disposition of such apparent violation. The Commission may from time to time prepare and publish reports on the status of such referrals.

“JUDICIAL REVIEW

“SEC. 315. (a) The Commission, the national committee of any political party, or any individual eligible to vote in any election for the office of President of the United States may institute such actions in the appropriate district court of the United States, including actions for declaratory judgment, as may be appropriate to construe the constitutionality of any provision of this Act or of section 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, or 617 of title 18, United States Code. The district court immediately shall certify all questions of constitutionality of this Act or of section 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, or 617 of title 18, United States Code to the United States court of appeals for the circuit involved, which shall hear the matter sitting en banc.

“(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any decision on a matter certified under subsection (a) shall be reviewable by appeal directly to the Supreme Court of the United States. Such appeal shall be brought no later than 20 days after the decision of the court of appeals.

Ante, pp. 1263,
1268.

Subpenas.

Petition for
judicial
review.

Report to
Commission.

2 USC 437h.

“(c) It shall be the duty of the court of appeals and of the Supreme Court of the United States to advance on the docket and to expedite to the greatest possible extent the disposition of any matter certified under subsection (a).”.

2 USC 437c
note.

(b) Until the appointment and qualification of all the members of the Federal Election Commission and its general counsel and until the transfer provided for in this subsection, the Comptroller General, the Secretary of the Senate, and the Clerk of the House of Representatives shall continue to carry out their responsibilities under title I and title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 as such titles existed on the day before the date of enactment of this Act. Upon the appointment of all the members of the Commission and its general counsel, the Comptroller General, the Secretary of the Senate, and the Clerk of the House of Representatives shall meet with the Commission and arrange for the transfer, within 30 days after the date on which all such members and the general counsel are appointed, of copies of all appropriate records, documents, memorandums, and other papers associated with carrying out their responsibilities under title I and title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 and chapter 95 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

47 USC 801
note,
Ante, p. 1272.

26 USC 9001.

(c) Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is amended—

2 USC 431.

(1) by amending section 301(g), relating to definitions, to read as follows:

2 USC 432.

“(g) ‘Commission’ means the Federal Election Commission;”;

2 USC 433.

(2) by striking out “supervisory officer” in section 302(d) and inserting in lieu thereof “Commission”;

(3) by amending section 303, relating to registration of political committees; statements—

(A) by striking out “supervisory officer” each time it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof “Commission”; and

2 USC 434.

(B) by striking out “he” in the second sentence of subsection (a) of such section and inserting in lieu thereof “it”;

(4) by amending section 304, relating to reports by political committees and candidates—

(A) by striking out “appropriate supervisory officer” and “him” in the first sentence thereof and inserting in lieu thereof “Commission” and “it”, respectively; and

(B) by striking out “supervisory officer” where it appears in paragraphs (12) and (13) of subsection (b) and inserting in lieu thereof “Commission”;

2 USC 436.

(5) by striking out “supervisory officer” each place it appears in section 306, relating to formal requirements respecting reports and statements, and inserting in lieu thereof “Commission”;

2 USC 437.

(6) by striking out “Comptroller General of the United States” and “he” in section 307, relating to reports on convention financing, and inserting in lieu thereof “Federal Election Commission” and “it”, respectively;

2 USC 438.

(7) by amending the heading for section 316 (as redesignated by subsection (a) of this section), relating to duties of the supervisory officer, to read as follows: “DUTIES”;

(8) by striking out “supervisory officer” in section 316(a) (as redesignated by subsection (a) of this section) the first time it appears and inserting in lieu thereof “Commission”;

(9) by amending section 316(a) (as redesignated by subsection (a) of this section)—

(A) by striking out “him” in paragraph (1) and inserting in lieu thereof “it”; and

(B) by striking out “him” in paragraph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof “it”; and

(10) by amending subsection (c) of section 316 (as redesignated by subsection (a) of this section)—

(A) by striking out “Comptroller General” each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof “Commission” and striking out “his” in the second sentence of such subsection and inserting in lieu thereof “its”; and

(B) by striking out the last sentence thereof; and

(11) by striking out “a supervisory officer” in section 317(a) of such Act (as redesignated by subsection (a) of this Act) and inserting in lieu thereof “the Commission”.

DUTIES AND REGULATIONS

SEC. 209. (a) (1) Section 316(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as redesignated and amended by section 208(a) of this Act), relating to duties of the Commission, is amended by striking out paragraphs (6), (7), (8), (9), and (10), and by redesignating paragraphs (11), (12), and (13) as paragraphs (8), (9), and (10), respectively, and by inserting immediately after paragraph (5) the following new paragraphs:

“(6) to compile and maintain a cumulative index of reports and statements filed with it, which shall be published in the Federal Register at regular intervals and which shall be available for purchase directly or by mail for a reasonable price;

“(7) to prepare and publish from time to time special reports listing those candidates for whom reports were filed as required by this title and those candidates for whom such reports were not filed as so required;”.

(2) Notwithstanding section 308(a)(7) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (relating to an annual report by the supervisory officer), as in effect on the day before the effective date of the amendments made by paragraph (1) of this subsection, no such annual report shall be required with respect to any calendar year beginning after December 31, 1972.

(b) (1) Section 316(a)(10) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as so redesignated by subsection (a) of this section), relating to the prescription of rules and regulations, is amended by inserting before the period at the end thereof the following: “, in accordance with the provisions of subsection (c)”.

(2) Such section 316 is amended—

(A) by striking out subsection (b) and subsection (d); by redesignating subsection (c) as subsection (b); and

(B) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

“(c) (1) The Commission, before prescribing any rule or regulation under this section, shall transmit a statement with respect to such rule or regulation to the Senate or the House of Representatives, as the case may be, in accordance with the provisions of this subsection. Such statement shall set forth the proposed rule or regulation and shall contain a detailed explanation and justification of such rule or regulation.

“(2) If the appropriate body of the Congress which receives a statement from the Commission under this subsection does not, through appropriate action, disapprove the proposed rule or regulation set forth in such statement no later than 30 legislative days after receipt of such statement, then the Commission may prescribe such rule or regulation. In the case of any rule or regulation proposed to deal with reports or

Index of reports
and statements.
Publication in
Federal Register.

Special reports,
publication.

2 USC 438 note.

Proposed rules
or regulations,
statement, trans-
mittal to
Congress.

Presidential
elections.

Senatorial
elections.

statements required to be filed under this title by a candidate for the office of President of the United States, and by political committees supporting such a candidate both the Senate and the House of Representatives shall have the power to disapprove such proposed rule or regulation. The Commission may not prescribe any rule or regulation which is disapproved under this paragraph.

"(3) If the Commission proposes to prescribe any rule or regulation dealing with reports or statements required to be filed under this title by a candidate for the office of Senator, and by political committees supporting such candidate, it shall transmit such statement to the Senate. If the Commission proposes to prescribe any rule or regulation dealing with reports or statements required to be filed under this title by a candidate for the office of Representative, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner, and by political committees supporting such candidate, it shall transmit such statement to the House of Representatives. If the Commission proposes to prescribe any rule or regulation dealing with reports or statements required to be filed under this title by a candidate for the office of President of the United States, and by political committees supporting such candidate it shall transmit such statement to the House of Representatives and the Senate.

"(4) For purposes of this subsection, the term 'legislative days' does not include, with respect to statements transmitted to the Senate, any calendar day on which the Senate is not in session, and with respect to statements transmitted to the House of Representatives, any calendar day on which the House of Representatives is not in session, and with respect to statements transmitted to both such bodies, any calendar day on which both Houses of the Congress are not in session.

Rules and
regulations.

"(d) (1) The Commission shall prescribe suitable rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of this title, including such rules and regulations as may be necessary to require that—

"(A) reports and statements required to be filed under this title by a candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress of the United States, and by political committees supporting such candidate, shall be received by the Clerk of the House of Representatives as custodian for the Commission;

"(B) reports and statements required to be filed under this title by a candidate for the office of Senator, and by political committees supporting such candidate, shall be received by the Secretary of the Senate as custodian for the Commission; and

"(C) the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate, as custodians for the Commission, each shall make the reports and statements received by him available for public inspection and copying in accordance with paragraph (4) of subsection (a), and preserve such reports and statements in accordance with paragraph (5) of subsection (a).

Congressional
cooperation.

"(2) It shall be the duty of the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate to cooperate with the Commission in carrying out its duties under this Act and to furnish such services and facilities as may be required in accordance with this section."

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Ante, p. 1279.

SEC. 210. Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is amended by inserting immediately after section 317 (as so redesignated by section 208(a) of this Act) the following new sections:

"USE OF CONTRIBUTED AMOUNTS FOR CERTAIN PURPOSES

"SEC. 318. Amounts received by a candidate as contributions that are in excess of any amount necessary to defray his expenditures, and any other amounts contributed to an individual for the purpose of supporting his activities as a holder of Federal office, may be used by such candidate or individual, as the case may be, to defray any ordinary and necessary expenses incurred by him in connection with his duties as a holder of Federal office, may be contributed by him to any organization described in section 170(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, or may be used for any other lawful purpose. To the extent any such contribution, amount contributed, or expenditure thereof is not otherwise required to be disclosed under the provisions of this title, such contribution, amount contributed, or expenditure shall be fully disclosed in accordance with rules promulgated by the Commission. The Commission is authorized to prescribe such rules as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section.

2 USC 439a.

26 USC 170.

Rules.

"PROHIBITION OF FRANKED SOLICITATIONS

"SEC. 319. No Senator, Representative, Resident Commissioner, or Delegate shall make any solicitations of funds by a mailing under the frank under section 3210 of title 39, United States Code.

2 USC 439b.

"AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

"SEC. 320. There are authorized to be appropriated to the Commission for the purpose of carrying out its functions under this Act, and under chapters 95 and 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, not to exceed \$5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975."

2 USC 439c.

TITLE III—GENERAL PROVISIONS

EFFECT ON STATE LAW

SEC. 301. Section 403 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to effect on State law, is amended to read as follows:

2 USC 453.

"EFFECT ON STATE LAW

"SEC. 403. The provisions of this Act, and of rules prescribed under this Act, supersede and preempt any provision of State law with respect to election to Federal office."

PERIOD OF LIMITATIONS; ENFORCEMENT

SEC. 302. Title IV of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to general provisions, is amended by redesignating section 406 as section 408 and by inserting immediately after section 405 the following new sections:

2 USC 431 note.

"PERIOD OF LIMITATIONS

"SEC. 406. (a) No person shall be prosecuted, tried, or punished for any violation of title III of this Act or of section 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, or 617 of title 18, United States Code, unless the indictment is found or the information is instituted within 3 years after the date of the violation.

2 USC 455.

Ante, pp. 1263,
1268.

“(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law—

“(1) the period of limitations referred to in subsection (a) shall apply with respect to violations referred to in such subsection committed before, on, or after the effective date of this section; and

“(2) no criminal proceeding shall be instituted against any person for any act or omission which was a violation of any provision of title III of this Act, or section 608, 610, 611, or 613 of title 18, United States Code, as in effect on December 31, 1974, if such act or omission does not constitute a violation of any such provision, as amended by the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974.

Nothing in this subsection shall affect any proceeding pending in any court of the United States on the effective date of this section.

“ADDITIONAL ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITY

2 USC 456.

“SEC. 407. (a) In any case in which the Commission, after notice and opportunity for a hearing on the record in accordance with section 554 of title 5, United States Code, makes a finding that a person who, while a candidate for Federal office, failed to file a report required by title III of this Act, and such finding is made before the expiration of the time within which the failure to file such report may be prosecuted as a violation of such title III, such person shall be disqualified from becoming a candidate in any future election for Federal office for a period of time beginning on the date of such finding and ending one year after the expiration of the term of the Federal office for which such person was a candidate.

“(b) Any finding by the Commission under subsection (a) shall be subject to judicial review in accordance with the provisions of chapter 7 of title 5, United States Code.”

5 USC 701.

TITLE IV—AMENDMENTS TO OTHER LAWS; EFFECTIVE DATES

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES BY STATE AND LOCAL OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

SEC. 401. (a) Section 1502(a)(3) of title 5, United States Code (relating to influencing elections, taking part in political campaigns, prohibitions, exceptions), is amended to read as follows:

“(3) be a candidate for elective office.”

(b) (1) Section 1503 of title 5, United States Code, relating to non-partisan political activity, is amended to read as follows:

“§ 1503. Nonpartisan candidacies permitted

“Section 1502(a)(3) of this title does not prohibit any State or local officer or employee from being a candidate in any election if none of the candidates is to be nominated or elected at such election as representing a party any of whose candidates for Presidential elector received votes in the last preceding election at which Presidential electors were selected.”

(2) The table of sections for chapter 15 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by striking out the item relating to section 1503 and inserting in lieu thereof the following new item:

“1503. Nonpartisan candidacies permitted.”

(c) Section 1501 of title 5, United States Code, relating to definitions, is amended—

(1) by striking out paragraph (5);

(2) in paragraph (3) thereof, by inserting “and” immediately after “Federal Reserve System;” and

(3) in paragraph (4) thereof, by striking out “; and” and inserting in lieu thereof a period.

REPEAL OF COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS

SEC. 402. (a) Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 47 USC 315. (relating to candidates for public office; facilities; rules) is amended by striking out subsections (c), (d), and (e), and by redesignating subsections (f) and (g) as subsections (c) and (d), respectively.

(b) Section 315(c) of such Act (as so redesignated by subsection (a) of this section), relating to definitions, is amended to read as follows:

“(c) For purposes of this section—

“(1) the term ‘broadcasting station’ includes a community antenna television system; and

“(2) the terms ‘licensee’ and ‘station licensee’ when used with respect to a community antenna television system mean the operator of such system.”

APPROPRIATIONS TO CAMPAIGN FUND

SEC. 403. (a) Section 9006(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 26 USC 9006. (relating to establishment of campaign fund) is amended—

(1) by striking out “as provided by appropriation Acts” and inserting in lieu thereof “from time to time”; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: “There is appropriated to the fund for each fiscal year, out of amounts in the general fund of the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, an amount equal to the amounts so designated during each fiscal year, which shall remain available to the fund without fiscal year limitation.”

(b) In addition to the amounts appropriated to the Presidential Election Campaign Fund established under section 9006 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to payments to eligible candidates) by the last sentence of subsection (a) of such section (as amended by subsection (a) of this section), there is appropriated to such fund an amount equal to the sum of the amounts designated for payment under section 6096 of such Code (relating to designation by individuals to the Presidential Election Campaign Fund) before January 1, 1975, not otherwise taken into account under the provisions of such section 9006, as amended by this section. 26 USC 9006 note.

ENTITLEMENTS OF ELIGIBLE CANDIDATES TO PAYMENTS FROM PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN FUND

SEC. 404. (a) Subsection (a)(1) of section 9004 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to entitlement of eligible candidates to payments) is amended to read as follows: 26 USC 9004.

“(1) The eligible candidates of each major party in a presidential election shall be entitled to equal payments under section 9006 in an amount which, in the aggregate, shall not exceed the expenditure limitations applicable to such candidates under section 608(c)(1)(B) of title 18, United States Code.”

(b) (1) Subsection (a)(2)(A) of section 9004 of such Code (relating to entitlement of eligible candidates to payments) is amended by striking out “computed” and inserting in lieu thereof “allowed”.

26 USC 9004. (2) The first sentence of subsection (a) (3) of section 9004 of such Code (relating to entitlement of eligible candidates to payments) is amended by striking out "computed" and inserting in lieu thereof "allowed".

26 USC 9002. (c) (1) Section 9002(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to the definition of "Comptroller General") is amended to read as follows:

Ante, p. 1280. "(3) The term 'Commission' means the Federal Election Commission established by section 310(a) (1) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971."

(2) Section 9002(1) of such Code (relating to the definition of "authorized committee") is amended by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

26 USC 9003. (3) The third sentence of section 9002(11) of such Code (relating to the definition of "qualified campaign expense") is amended by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

(4) Section 9003(a) of such Code (relating to condition for eligibility for payments) is amended—

(A) by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission"; and

(B) by striking out "he" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "it".

26 USC 9005. (5) Section 9003(b) of such Code (relating to major parties) and section 9003(c) of such Code (relating to minor and new parties) each are amended by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

(6) The heading for section 9005 of such Code (relating to certification by Comptroller General) is amended by striking out "COMPTROLLER GENERAL" and inserting in lieu thereof "COMMISSION".

(7) Section 9005(b) of such Code (relating to finality of certifications and determinations) is amended—

(A) by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission"; and

(B) by striking out "him" and inserting in lieu thereof "it".

26 USC 9006. (8) Section 9006(c) of such Code (relating to payments from the fund) and section 9006(d) of such Code (relating to insufficient amounts in fund) each are amended by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

26 USC 9007. (9) Section 9007(a) of such Code (relating to examinations and audits) is amended by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

(10) Section 9007(b) of such Code (relating to repayments) is amended—

(A) by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission"; and

(B) by striking out "he" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "it".

(11) Section 9007(c) of such Code (relating to notification) is amended by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

26 USC 9009. (12) Section 9009(a) of such Code (relating to reports) is amended—

(A) by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission"; and

(B) by striking out "him" and inserting in lieu thereof "it".

(13) Section 9009(b) of such Code (relating to regulations, etc.) is amended—

(A) by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission";

(B) by striking out "he" and inserting in lieu thereof "it"; and

(C) by striking out "him" and inserting in lieu thereof "it".

26 USC 9010. (14) The heading for section 9010 of such Code (relating to participation by Comptroller General in judicial proceedings) is amended by striking out "COMPTROLLER GENERAL" and inserting in lieu thereof "COMMISSION".

(15) Section 9010(a) of such Code (relating to appearance by counsel) is amended—

(A) by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission";

(B) by striking out "his" and inserting in lieu thereof "its"; and

(C) by striking out "he" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "it".

(16) Section 9010(b) of such Code (relating to recovery of certain payments) is amended by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

(17) Section 9010(c) of such Code (relating to declaratory and injunctive relief) is amended by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

(18) Section 9010(d) of such Code (relating to appeal) is amended by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission" and by striking out "he" and inserting in lieu thereof "it".

26 USC 9011. (19) The heading for subsection (a) of section 9011 of such Code (relating to review of certification, determination, or other action by the Comptroller General) is amended by striking out "COMPTROLLER GENERAL" and inserting in lieu thereof "COMMISSION".

(20) Section 9011(a) of such Code, as amended by paragraph (19) (relating to review of certification, determination, or other action by the Commission) is amended by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

(21) Section 9011(b) of such Code, (relating to suits to implement chapter) is amended by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

26 USC 9012. (22) Section 9012(d) (1) of such Code (relating to false statements, etc.) is amended—

(A) by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission"; and

(B) by striking out "him" and inserting in lieu thereof "it".

CERTIFICATION FOR PAYMENT BY COMMISSION

SEC. 405. (a) Section 9005(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to initial certifications for eligibility for payments) is amended to read as follows: 26 USC 9005.

"(a) INITIAL CERTIFICATIONS.—Not later than 10 days after the candidates of a political party for President and Vice President of the United States have met all applicable conditions for eligibility to receive payments under this chapter set forth in section 9003, the Commission shall certify to the Secretary for payment to such eligible candidates under section 9006 payment in full of amounts to which such candidates are entitled under section 9004."

Ante, p. 1292.

Ante, p. 1291.

26 USC 9003.

(b) Section 9003(a) of such Code (relating to general conditions for eligibility for payments) is amended—

(1) by striking out “with respect to which payment is sought” in paragraph (1) and inserting in lieu thereof “of such candidates”;

(2) by inserting “and” at the end of paragraph (2);

(3) by striking out “, and” at the end of paragraph (3) and inserting in lieu thereof a period; and

(4) by striking out paragraph (4).

FINANCING OF PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONVENTIONS

26 USC 9008.

SEC. 406. (a) Chapter 95 of subtitle H of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to the presidential election campaign fund) is amended by striking out section 9008 (relating to information on proposed expenses) and inserting in lieu thereof the following new section:

“SEC. 9008. PAYMENTS FOR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONVENTIONS.

Ante, p. 1291.

“(a) ESTABLISHMENT OF ACCOUNTS.—The Secretary shall maintain in the fund, in addition to any account which he maintains under section 9006(a), a separate account for the national committee of each major party and minor party. The Secretary shall deposit in each such account an amount equal to the amount which each such committee may receive under subsection (b). Such deposits shall be drawn from amounts designated by individuals under section 6096 and shall be made before any transfer is made to any account for any eligible candidate under section 9006(a).

26 USC 6096.

“(b) ENTITLEMENT TO PAYMENTS FROM THE FUND.—

“(1) MAJOR PARTIES.—Subject to the provisions of this section, the national committee of a major party shall be entitled to payments under paragraph (3), with respect to any presidential nominating convention, in amounts which, in the aggregate, shall not exceed \$2,000,000.

“(2) MINOR PARTIES.—Subject to the provisions of this section, the national committee of a minor party shall be entitled to payments under paragraph (3), with respect to any presidential nominating convention, in amounts which, in the aggregate, shall not exceed an amount which bears the same ratio to the amount the national committee of a major party is entitled to receive under paragraph (1) as the number of popular votes received by the candidate for President of the minor party, as such candidate, in the preceding presidential election bears to the average number of popular votes received by the candidates for President of the United States of the major parties in the preceding presidential election.

“(3) PAYMENTS.—Upon receipt of certification from the Commission under subsection (g), the Secretary shall make payments from the appropriate account maintained under subsection (a) to the national committee of a major party or minor party which elects to receive its entitlement under this subsection. Such payments shall be available for use by such committee in accordance with the provisions of subsection (c).

“(4) LIMITATION.—Payments to the national committee of a major party or minor party under this subsection from the account designated for such committee shall be limited to the amounts in such account at the time of payment.

“(5) ADJUSTMENT OF ENTITLEMENTS.—The entitlements established by this subsection shall be adjusted in the same manner as expenditure limitations established by section 608(c) and section 608(f) of title 18, United States Code, are adjusted pursuant to the provisions of section 608(d) of such title.

Ante, pp. 1264, 1265.

“(c) USE OF FUNDS.—No part of any payment made under subsection (b) shall be used to defray the expenses of any candidate or delegate who is participating in any presidential nominating convention. Such payments shall be used only—

“(1) to defray expenses incurred with respect to a presidential nominating convention (including the payment of deposits) by or on behalf of the national committee receiving such payments; or

“(2) to repay loans the proceeds of which were used to defray such expenses, or otherwise to restore funds (other than contributions to defray such expenses received by such committee) used to defray such expenses.

“(d) LIMITATION OF EXPENDITURES.—

“(1) MAJOR PARTIES.—Except as provided by paragraph (3), the national committee of a major party may not make expenditures with respect to a presidential nominating convention which, in the aggregate, exceed the amount of payments to which such committee is entitled under subsection (b)(1).

“(2) MINOR PARTIES.—Except as provided by paragraph (3), the national committee of a minor party may not make expenditures with respect to a presidential nominating convention which, in the aggregate, exceed the amount of the entitlement of the national committee of a major party under subsection (b)(1).

“(3) EXCEPTION.—The Commission may authorize the national committee of a major party or minor party to make expenditures which, in the aggregate, exceed the limitation established by paragraph (1) or paragraph (2) of this subsection. Such authorization shall be based upon a determination by the Commission that, due to extraordinary and unforeseen circumstances, such expenditures are necessary to assure the effective operation of the presidential nominating convention by such committee.

“(e) AVAILABILITY OF PAYMENTS.—The national committee of a major party or minor party may receive payments under subsection (b)(3) beginning on July 1 of the calendar year immediately preceding the calendar year in which a presidential nominating convention of the political party involved is held.

“(f) TRANSFER TO THE FUND.—If, after the close of a presidential nominating convention and after the national committee of the political party involved has been paid the amount which it is entitled to receive under this section, there are moneys remaining in the account of such national committee, the Secretary shall transfer the moneys so remaining to the fund.

“(g) CERTIFICATION BY COMMISSION.—Any major party or minor party may file a statement with the Commission in such form and manner and at such times as it may require, designating the national committee of such party. Such statement shall include the information required by section 303(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, together with such additional information as the Commission may require. Upon receipt of a statement filed under the preceding sentences, the Commission promptly shall verify such statement according to such procedures and criteria as it may establish and shall certify to the Secretary for payment in full to any such committee of amounts to which such committee may be entitled under subsection (b). Such certifications shall be subject to an examination and audit which the Commission shall conduct no later than December 31 of the calen-

2 USC 433.

Examination and audit.

dar year in which the presidential nominating convention involved is held.

26 USC 9007. "(h) REPAYMENTS.—The Commission shall have the same authority to require repayments from the national committee of a major party or a minor party as it has with respect to repayments from any eligible candidate under section 9007(b). The provisions of section 9007(c) and section 9007(d) shall apply with respect to any repayment required by the Commission under this subsection."

Reports to Congress. 26 USC 9009. (b)(1) Section 9009(a) of such Code (relating to reports) is amended by striking out "and" in paragraph (2) thereof; by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (3) thereof and inserting in lieu thereof "; and"; and by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

"(4) the expenses incurred by the national committee of a major party or minor party with respect to a presidential nominating convention;

Ante, p. 1294. "(5) the amounts certified by it under section 9008(g) for payment to each such committee; and

"(6) the amount of payments, if any, required from such committees under section 9008(h), and the reasons for each such payment."

26 USC 9012. (2) The heading for section 9012(a) of such Code (relating to excess campaign expenses) is amended by striking out "CAMPAIGN".

Excess expenses. (3) Section 9012(a)(1) by such Code (relating to excess expenses) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "It shall be unlawful for the national committee of a major party or minor party knowingly and willfully to incur expenses with respect to a presidential nominating convention in excess of the expenditure limitation applicable with respect to such committee under section 9008(d), unless the incurring of such expenses is authorized by the Commission under section 9008(d)(3)."

Unlawful use of payments. (4) Section 9012(c) of such Code (relating to unlawful use of payments) is amended by redesignating paragraph (2) as paragraph (3) and by inserting immediately after paragraph (1) the following new paragraph:

"(2) It shall be unlawful for the national committee of a major party or minor party which receives any payment under section 9008(b)(3) to use, or authorize the use of, such payment for any purpose other than a purpose authorized by section 9008(c)."

Kickbacks and illegal payments. (5) Section 9012(e)(1) of such Code (relating to kickbacks and illegal payments) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "It shall be unlawful for the national committee of a major party or minor party knowingly and willfully to give or accept any kickback or any illegal payment in connection with any expense incurred by such committee with respect to a presidential nominating convention."

(6) Section 9012(e)(3) of such Code (relating to kickbacks and illegal payments) is amended by inserting immediately after "their authorized committees" the following: "; or in connection with any expense incurred by the national committee of a major party or minor party with respect to a presidential nominating convention."

(c) The table of sections for chapter 95 of subtitle H of such Code (relating to the presidential election campaign fund) is amended by striking out the item relating to section 9008 and inserting in lieu thereof the following new item:

"Sec. 9008. Payments for presidential nominating conventions."

26 USC 276. (d) Section 276 of such Code (relating to certain indirect contributions to political parties) is amended by striking out subsection (c) and by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (c).

TAX RETURNS BY POLITICAL COMMITTEES

SEC. 407. Section 6012(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to persons required to make returns of income) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "The Secretary or his delegate shall, by regulation, exempt from the requirement of making returns under this section any political committee (as defined in section 301(d) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971) having no gross income for the taxable year."

26 USC 6012.

Ante, p. 1272.

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY MATCHING PAYMENT ACCOUNT

SEC. 408. (a) The analysis of subtitles at the beginning of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"Subtitle H. Financing of Presidential election campaigns."

(b) The analysis of chapters at the beginning of subtitle H of such Code is amended by striking out the item relating to chapter 96 and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"Chapter 96. Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account."

(c) Subtitle H of such Code is amended by striking out chapter 96, relating to Presidential Election Campaign Fund Advisory Board, and inserting in lieu thereof the following new chapter:

26 USC 9021.

"CHAPTER 96—PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY MATCHING PAYMENT ACCOUNT

Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act.

"Sec. 9031. Short title.

"Sec. 9032. Definitions.

"Sec. 9033. Eligibility for payments.

"Sec. 9034. Entitlement of eligible candidates to payments.

"Sec. 9035. Qualified campaign expense limitation.

"Sec. 9036. Certification by Commission.

"Sec. 9037. Payments to eligible candidates.

"Sec. 9038. Examinations and audits; repayments.

"Sec. 9039. Reports to Congress; regulations.

"Sec. 9040. Participation by Commission in judicial proceedings.

"Sec. 9041. Judicial review.

"Sec. 9042. Criminal penalties.

"SEC. 9031. SHORT TITLE.

"This chapter may be cited as the 'Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act'.

"SEC. 9032. DEFINITIONS.

"FOR PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER—

"(1) The term 'authorized committee' means, with respect to the candidates of a political party for President and Vice President of the United States, any political committee which is authorized in writing by such candidates to incur expenses to further the election of such candidates. Such authorization shall be addressed to the chairman of such political committee, and a copy of such authorization shall be filed by such candidates with the Commission. Any withdrawal of any authorization shall also be in writing and shall be addressed and filed in the same manner as the authorization.

"(2) The term 'candidate' means an individual who seeks nomination for election to be President of the United States. For purposes of this paragraph, an individual shall be considered to

seek nomination for election if he (A) takes the action necessary under the law of a State to qualify himself for nomination for election, (B) receives contributions or incurs qualified campaign expenses, or (C) gives his consent for any other person to receive contributions or to incur qualified campaign expenses on his behalf.

"(3) The term 'Commission' means the Federal Election Commission established by section 310(a)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

"(4) Except as provided by section 9034(a), the term 'contribution'—

"(A) means a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money, or anything of value, the payment of which was made on or after the beginning of the calendar year immediately preceding the calendar year of the presidential election with respect to which such gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money, or anything of value, is made, for the purpose of influencing the result of a primary election,

"(B) means a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or not legally enforceable, to make a contribution for any such purpose,

"(C) means funds received by a political committee which are transferred to that committee from another committee, and

"(D) means the payment by any person other than a candidate, or his authorized committee, of compensation for the personal services of another person which are rendered to the candidate or committee without charge, but

"(E) does not include—

"(i) except as provided in subparagraph (D), the value of personal services rendered to or for the benefit of a candidate by an individual who receives no compensation for rendering such service to or for the benefit of the candidate, or

"(ii) payments under section 9037.

"(5) The term 'matching payment account' means the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account established under section 9037(a).

"(6) The term 'matching payment period' means the period beginning with the beginning of the calendar year in which a general election for the office of President of the United States will be held and ending on the date on which the national convention of the party whose nomination a candidate seeks nominates its candidate for the office of President of the United States, or, in the case of a party which does not make such nomination by national convention, ending on the earlier of (A) the date such party nominates its candidate for the office of President of the United States, or (B) the last day of the last national convention held by a major party during such calendar year.

"(7) The term 'primary election' means an election, including a runoff election or a nominating convention or caucus held by a political party, for the selection of delegates to a national nominating convention of a political party, or for the expression of a preference for the nomination of persons for election to the office of President of the United States.

"(8) The term 'political committee' means any individual, committee, association, or organization (whether or not incorporated) which accepts contributions or incurs qualified campaign expenses for the purpose of influencing, or attempting to influence, the

Ante, p. 1280.
Post, p. 1299.

Post, p. 1300.

nomination of any person for election to the office of President of the United States.

"(9) The term 'qualified campaign expense' means a purchase, payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money or of anything of value—

"(A) incurred by a candidate, or by his authorized committee, in connection with his campaign for nomination for election, and

"(B) neither the incurring nor payment of which constitutes a violation of any law of the United States or of the State in which the expense is incurred or paid.

For purposes of this paragraph, an expense is incurred by a candidate or by an authorized committee if it is incurred by a person specifically authorized in writing by the candidate or committee, as the case may be, to incur such expense on behalf of the candidate or the committee.

"(10) The term 'State' means each State of the United States and the District of Columbia.

SEC. 9033. ELIGIBILITY FOR PAYMENTS.

"(a) CONDITIONS.—To be eligible to receive payments under section 9037, a candidate shall, in writing—

"(1) agree to obtain and furnish to the Commission any evidence it may request of qualified campaign expenses,

"(2) agree to keep and furnish to the Commission any records, books, and other information it may request, and

"(3) agree to an audit and examination by the Commission under section 9038 and to pay any amounts required to be paid under such section.

"(b) EXPENSE LIMITATION; DECLARATION OF INTENT; MINIMUM CONTRIBUTIONS.—To be eligible to receive payments under section 9037, a candidate shall certify to the Commission that—

"(1) the candidate and his authorized committees will not incur qualified campaign expenses in excess of the limitation on such expenses under section 9035,

"(2) the candidate is seeking nomination by a political party for election to the office of President of the United States,

"(3) the candidate has received matching contributions which in the aggregate, exceed \$5,000 in contributions from residents of each of at least 20 States, and

"(4) the aggregate of contributions certified with respect to any person under paragraph (3) does not exceed \$250.

SEC. 9034. ENTITLEMENT OF ELIGIBLE CANDIDATES TO PAYMENTS.

"(a) IN GENERAL.—Every candidate who is eligible to receive payments under section 9033 is entitled to payments under section 9037 in an amount equal to the amount of each contribution received by such candidate on or after the beginning of the calendar year immediately preceding the calendar year of the presidential election with respect to which such candidate is seeking nomination, or by his authorized committees, disregarding any amount of contributions from any person to the extent that the total of the amounts contributed by such person on or after the beginning of such preceding calendar year exceeds \$250. For purposes of this subsection and section 9033(b), the term 'contribution' means a gift of money made by a written instrument which identifies the person making the contribution by full name and mailing address, but does not include a subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money, or anything of value or anything described in subparagraph (B), (C), or (D) of section 9032(4).

Post, p. 1300.

"Contribution."

"(b) LIMITATIONS.—The total amount of payments to which a candidate is entitled under subsection (a) shall not exceed 50 percent of the expenditure limitation applicable under section 608(c)(1)(A) of title 18, United States Code.

"SEC. 9035. QUALIFIED CAMPAIGN EXPENSE LIMITATION.

"No candidate shall knowingly incur qualified campaign expenses in excess of the expenditure limitation applicable under section 608(c)(1)(A) of title 18, United States Code.

"SEC. 9036. CERTIFICATION BY COMMISSION.

"(a) INITIAL CERTIFICATIONS.—Not later than 10 days after a candidate establishes his eligibility under section 9033 to receive payments under section 9037, the Commission shall certify to the Secretary for payment to such candidate under section 9037 payment in full of amounts to which such candidate is entitled under section 9034. The Commission shall make such additional certifications as may be necessary to permit candidates to receive payments for contributions under section 9037.

"(b) FINALITY OF DETERMINATIONS.—Initial certifications by the Commission under subsection (a), and all determinations made by it under this chapter, are final and conclusive, except to the extent that they are subject to examination and audit by the Commission under section 9038 and judicial review under section 9041.

"SEC. 9037. PAYMENTS TO ELIGIBLE CANDIDATES.

"(a) ESTABLISHMENT OF ACCOUNT.—The Secretary shall maintain in the Presidential Election Campaign Fund established by section 9006(a), in addition to any account which he maintains under such section, a separate account to be known as the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account. The Secretary shall deposit into the matching payment account, for use by the candidate of any political party who is eligible to receive payments under section 9033, the amount available after the Secretary determines that amounts for payments under section 9006(c) and for payments under section 9008(b)(3) are available for such payments.

"(b) PAYMENTS FROM THE MATCHING PAYMENT ACCOUNT.—Upon receipt of a certification from the Commission under section 9036, but not before the beginning of the matching payment period, the Secretary or his delegate shall promptly transfer the amount certified by the Commission from the matching payment account to the candidate. In making such transfers to candidates of the same political party, the Secretary or his delegate shall seek to achieve an equitable distribution of funds available under subsection (a), and the Secretary or his delegate shall take into account, in seeking to achieve an equitable distribution, the sequence in which such certifications are received.

"SEC. 9038. EXAMINATIONS AND AUDITS; REPAYMENTS.

"(a) EXAMINATIONS AND AUDITS.—After each matching payment period, the Commission shall conduct a thorough examination and audit of the qualified campaign expenses of every candidate and his authorized committees who received payments under section 9037.

"(b) REPAYMENTS.—

"(1) If the Commission determines that any portion of the payments made to a candidate from the matching payment account was in excess of the aggregate amount of payments to which such candidate was entitled under section 9034, it shall notify the candidate, and the candidate shall pay to the Secretary or his delegate an amount equal to the amount of excess payments.

"(2) If the Commission determines that any amount of any payment made to a candidate from the matching payment account was used for any purpose other than—

"(A) to defray the qualified campaign expenses with respect to which such payment was made, or

"(B) to repay loans the proceeds of which were used, or otherwise to restore funds (other than contributions to defray qualified campaign expenses which were received and expended) which were used, to defray qualified campaign expenses,

it shall notify such candidate of the amount so used, and the candidate shall pay to the Secretary or his delegate an amount equal to such amount.

"(3) Amounts received by a candidate from the matching payment account may be retained for the liquidation of all obligations to pay qualified campaign expenses incurred for a period not exceeding 6 months after the end of the matching payment period. After all obligations have been liquidated, that portion of any unexpended balance remaining in the candidate's accounts which bears the same ratio to the total unexpended balance as the total amount received from the matching payment account bears to the total of all deposits made into the candidate's accounts shall be promptly repaid to the matching payment account.

"(c) NOTIFICATION.—No notification shall be made by the Commission under subsection (b) with respect to a matching payment period more than 3 years after the end of such period.

"(d) DEPOSIT OF REPAYMENTS.—All payments received by the Secretary or his delegate under subsection (b) shall be deposited by him in the matching payment account.

"SEC. 9039. REPORTS TO CONGRESS; REGULATIONS.

"(a) REPORTS.—The Commission shall, as soon as practicable after each matching payment period, submit a full report to the Senate and House of Representatives setting forth—

"(1) the qualified campaign expenses (shown in such detail as the Commission determines necessary) incurred by the candidates of each political party and their authorized committees,

"(2) the amounts certified by it under section 9036 for payment to each eligible candidate, and

"(3) the amount of payments, if any, required from candidates under section 9038, and the reasons for each payment required.

Each report submitted pursuant to this section shall be printed as a Senate document.

"(b) REGULATIONS, ETC.—The Commission is authorized to prescribe rules and regulations in accordance with the provisions of subsection (c), to conduct examinations and audits (in addition to the examinations and audits required by section 9038(a)), to conduct investigations, and to require the keeping and submission of any books, records, and information, which it determines to be necessary to carry out its responsibilities under this chapter.

"(c) REVIEW OF REGULATIONS.—

"(1) The Commission, before prescribing any rule or regulation under subsection (b), shall transmit a statement with respect to such rule or regulation to the Senate and to the House of Representatives, in accordance with the provisions of this subsection. Such statement shall set forth the proposed rule or regulation and shall contain a detailed explanation and justification of such rule or regulation.

Ante, p. 1291.

26 USC 9006.
Ante, p. 1294.

Supra.

Audits.

"(2) If either such House does not, through appropriate action, disapprove the proposed rule or regulation set forth in such statement no later than 30 legislative days after receipt of such statement, then the Commission may prescribe such rule or regulation. The Commission may not prescribe any rule or regulation which is disapproved by either such House under this paragraph.

"(3) For purposes of this subsection, the term 'legislative days' does not include any calendar day on which both Houses of the Congress are not in session.

"SEC. 9040. PARTICIPATION BY COMMISSION IN JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS.

"(a) **APPEARANCE BY COUNSEL.**—The Commission is authorized to appear in and defend against any action instituted under this section, either by attorneys employed in its office or by counsel whom it may appoint without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and whose compensation it may fix without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title.

"(b) **RECOVERY OF CERTAIN PAYMENTS.**—The Commission is authorized, through attorneys and counsel described in subsection (a), to institute actions in the district courts of the United States to seek recovery of any amounts determined to be payable to the Secretary or his delegate as a result of an examination and audit made pursuant to section 9038.

"(c) **INJUNCTIVE RELIEF.**—The Commission is authorized, through attorneys and counsel described in subsection (a), to petition the courts of the United States for such injunctive relief as is appropriate to implement any provision of this chapter.

"(d) **APPEAL.**—The Commission is authorized on behalf of the United States to appeal from, and to petition the Supreme Court for certiorari to review, judgments or decrees entered with respect to actions in which it appears pursuant to the authority provided in this section.

"SEC. 9041. JUDICIAL REVIEW.

"(a) **REVIEW OF AGENCY ACTION BY THE COMMISSION.**—Any agency action by the Commission made under the provisions of this chapter shall be subject to review by the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit upon petition filed in such court within 30 days after the agency action by the Commission for which review is sought.

"(b) **REVIEW PROCEDURES.**—The provisions of chapter 7 of title 5, United States Code, apply to judicial review of any agency action, as defined in section 551(13) of title 5, United States Code, by the Commission.

"SEC. 9042. CRIMINAL PENALTIES.

"(a) **EXCESS CAMPAIGN EXPENSES.**—Any person who violates the provisions of section 9035 shall be fined not more than \$25,000, or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both. Any officer or member of any political committee who knowingly consents to any expenditure in violation of the provisions of section 9035 shall be fined not more than \$25,000, or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

"(b) **UNLAWFUL USE OF PAYMENTS.**—

"(1) It is unlawful for any person who receives any payment under section 9037, or to whom any portion of any such payment is transferred, knowingly and willfully to use, or authorize the use of, such payment or such portion for any purpose other than—

"(A) to defray qualified campaign expenses, or

"(B) to repay loans the proceeds of which were used, or otherwise to restore funds (other than contributions to defray qualified campaign expenses which were received and expended) which were used, to defray qualified campaign expenses.

"(2) Any person who violates the provisions of paragraph (1) shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

"(c) **FALSE STATEMENTS, ETC.**—

"(1) It is unlawful for any person knowingly and willfully—

"(A) to furnish any false, fictitious, or fraudulent evidence, books, or information to the Commission under this chapter, or to include in any evidence, books, or information so furnished any misrepresentation of a material fact, or to falsify or conceal any evidence, books, or information relevant to a certification by the Commission or an examination and audit by the Commission under this chapter, or

"(B) to fail to furnish to the Commission any records, books, or information requested by it for purposes of this chapter.

"(2) Any person who violates the provisions of paragraph (1) shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

"(d) **KICKBACKS AND ILLEGAL PAYMENTS.**—

"(1) It is unlawful for any person knowingly and willfully to give or accept any kickback or any illegal payment in connection with any qualified campaign expense of a candidate, or his authorized committees, who receives payments under section 9037.

"(2) Any person who violates the provisions of paragraph (1) shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

"(3) In addition to the penalty provided by paragraph (2), any person who accepts any kickback or illegal payment in connection with any qualified campaign expense of a candidate or his authorized committees shall pay to the Secretary for deposit in the matching payment account, an amount equal to 125 percent of the kickback or payment received."

REVIEW OF REGULATIONS

SEC. 409. (a) Section 9009 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 26 USC 9009. (relating to reports to Congress; regulations) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(c) **REVIEW OF REGULATIONS.**—

"(1) The Commission, before prescribing any rule or regulation under subsection (b), shall transmit a statement with respect to such rule or regulation to the Senate and to the House of Representatives, in accordance with the provisions of this subsection. Such statement shall set forth the proposed rule or regulation and shall contain a detailed explanation and justification of such rule or regulation.

"(2) If either such House does not, through appropriate action, disapprove the proposed rule or regulation set forth in such statement no later than 30 legislative days after receipt of such statement, then the Commission may prescribe such rule or regulation. The Commission may not prescribe any rule or regulation which is disapproved by either such House under this paragraph.

"(3) For purposes of this subsection, the term 'legislative days' "Legislative days."

5 USC 101
et seq.

5 USC 5101,
5331.

Ante, p. 1300.

does not include any calendar day on which both Houses of the Congress are not in session.”

26 USC 9009.

(b) Section 9009(b) of such Code (relating to regulations, etc.) is amended by inserting “in accordance with the provisions of subsection (c)” immediately after “regulations”.

EFFECTIVE DATES

2 USC 431
note.

SEC. 410. (a) Except as provided by subsection (b) and subsection (c), the foregoing provisions of this Act shall become effective January 1, 1975.

Ante, p. 1272.

(b) Section 104 and the amendment made by section 301 shall become effective on the date of the enactment of this Act.

Ante, pp.
1291-1294,
1297, 1303.

(c) (1) The amendments made by sections 403(a), 404, 405, 406, 408, and 409 shall apply with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1974.

Ante, p. 1297.

(2) The amendment made by section 407 shall apply with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1971.

Approved October 15, 1974.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORTS: No. 93-1239 accompanying H.R. 16090 (Comm. on House Administration) and No. 93-1438 (Comm. of Conference).

SENATE REPORTS: No. 93-689 (Comm. on Rules and Administration) and No. 93-1237 (Comm. of Conference).

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 120 (1974):

Mar. 26, 27, 29, Apr. 1-5, 8-11, considered and passed Senate.

Aug. 7, 8, considered and passed House, amended, in lieu of H.R. 16090.

Oct. 8, Senate agreed to conference report.

Oct. 10, House agreed to conference report.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS, Vol. 10, No. 42:

Oct. 15, Presidential statement.

HOWARD W. CANNON, NEV., CHAIRMAN
CLAIBORNE PELL, R.I.
ROBERT C. BYRD, W. VA.
JAMES B. ALLEN, ALA.
HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, N.J.
MARLOW W. COOK, KY.
HUGH SCOTT, PA.
ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, MICH.
MARK O. HATFIELD, OREG.
WILLIAM MCWHORTER COCHRANE, STAFF DIRECTOR
HUGH G. ALEXANDER, CHIEF COUNSEL
JOSEPH E. O'LEARY, PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEMBER (MINORITY)

SUBCOMMITTEE:
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JAMES H. DUFFY, CHIEF COUNSEL
JAMES F. SCHOENER, MINORITY COUNSEL

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

PERSONAL HISTORY

JAMES H. DUFFY
4630 Western Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20016 (Montgomery County, Maryland)
phone (301) 229-8133

Present position: Since February 1955, Chief Counsel, Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections. The jurisdiction covers the Election of the President and Vice President and Members of Congress, Corrupt Practices, contested elections, Federal elections generally, and Presidential Succession.

It is my responsibility to draft legislation (Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 and the 1974 amendments, for example), conduct hearings, prepare statements and reports, advise Members of Congress and candidates for Federal office concerning Federal law, and to handle complaints, investigations, and election contests which are referred to the Subcommittee.

Education: LL.B. Boston University Law School, Ph.B. Providence College, Ed.B. Rhode Island College.

Professional: Admitted to practice before: U.S. Supreme Court, U.S. Court of Military Appeals, R.I. Supreme Court, U.S. District Court. Member of the R.I. Bar and the Federal Bar.

Military: World War II, Thirty Two months of active service, Army, in U.S. and abroad. Honorable discharge. Reserve service, Major, Judge Advocate General Corps.

Marital status: Married (Joan L.), Daughter(Ann).

OCT 25 1974

WILLIAM B. PRENDERGAST

Tel: 821-3219 Home
Office 7-6085/line

PRESENT ADDRESS: 6215 Kellogg Drive, McLean, Virginia 22101

DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH: September 6, 1914 - Bridgeport, Connecticut

EDUCATION: B.A., Notre Dame, 1937
M.A., Notre Dame, 1938
Licence en Sciences Politiques et Sociales, University of
Louvain (Belguim), 1939
Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1948

MILITARY SERVICE: 1942-46, U. S. Army and OSS - enlisted as private;
discharged as captain

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

U.S. Naval Academy, 1946-56

During this period, also taught selected courses in
American Government and International Relations at John
Hopkins University and Catholic University

During 1953-54, took leave of absence to serve as
Assistant Research Director, Presidential Commission on
Intergovernmental Relations

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL EXPERIENCE:

- 1952 - Secretary of Commission on Service Voting and principal
author of Commission report to President Truman
- 1953-54 - Assistant Research Director, Presidential Commission on
Intergovernmental Relations
- 1956 - Republican candidate for U. S. House of Representatives,
Fifth District of Maryland
- 1957-60 - Associate Research Director, Republican National Committee
- 1960-64 - Research Director, Republican National Committee
- 1965-67 - Director of Research, Republican Conference, U. S. House
of Representatives
- 1967-68 - Research Director, Romney for President Committee
- 1968 - Consultant, Republican National Committee during 1968
Presidential campaign
- 1969-72 - Principal Research and Special Projects Officer, Office of
the Secretary of Defense
- 1972-74 - Defense Advisor, U. S. Mission to NATO

MISCELLANEOUS: Have served at least occasionally as policy advisor,
research specialist, and writer for such public
figures as President Ford, Secretary Laird, three
Chairmen of the Republican National Committee
(Alcorn, Thruston Morton, and Miller)

MISCELLANEOUS: Have had extensive dealings with Washington press corps
(Cont'd) and have occasionally advised ABC television-radio
network on campaign and election coverage
Have played major part in formulation of Republican
Platforms of 1960, 1964, 1968 and in preparation
of other quasi-official party policy declarations
Served as first Executive Director of Republican
Governors Association
Have written several magazine articles and part of
two books
Fairly fluent in French. Some knowledge of Italian
and German

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AGRICULTURE-ENVIRONMENTAL AND

CONSUMER PROTECTION

CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL REPUBLICAN

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

October 28, 1974

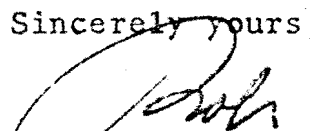
The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

While it's on my mind, I would simply like to make a point with respect to the two appointments you have to make on the newly-authorized Election Commission provided for in the so-called Election Reform Act.

We have an excellent chance to control that Commission if you and our Minority Leaders in the House and Senate will be recommending the appointment of Members with brass balls. We don't need any namby-pamby individuals on that Commission, for it has subpoena power and may be the only official Government instrument we have working for us as we go into the 1976 election.

Sincerely yours,


Robert H. Michel
Member of Congress

RHM:sy

CC: Senator Hugh Scott
Congressman John Rhodes
Dean Burch

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

512 HOUSE OFFICE BLDG. ANNEX
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
TELEPHONE (202) 225-1800

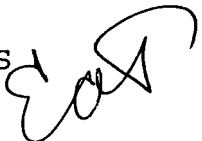
Chairman

Robert H. Michel, M.C., Illinois

*Executive
Director*

John T. Calkins

November 14, 1974

MEMORANDUM TO: JACK STILES 
FROM: ED TERRILL
SUBJECT: FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

This memo will briefly highlight the importance of and the power of the Federal Election Commission established by Public Law 93-448, titled "Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974".

Terms - expiration dates

U. S. Senate Appointees	April, 1976 and 1977 , 1978
U. S. House of Representatives Appointees	April, 1977 and 1978 , 1979
Presidential Appointees	1977 , 1977 and 1978 , 1980

What the Federal Election Commission can do and the powers of the Commission. Enclosed is a copy of the Federal Elections Campaign Acts Amendments of 1974. Reference is made to page numbers and paragraphs of the Act with parts of important sections extracted and put in this memo.

Page 19, paragraph (b). Key is line 2 "formulate policy". The first Commission will formulate policy with respects to this Act and the sections of Title 18, U.S. Code as listed. They are:

Section 608 - Limitations on contributions and expenditures.

Section 610 - Contributions or expenditures by national banks, corporations, or labor organizations.

Section 611 - Contributions by Government contractors.

Section 613 - Contributions by foreign nationals.

Section 614 - Prohibition of contributions in name of another.

Vice Chairmen

William S. Broomfield, M.C., Michigan
Donald G. Brozman, M.C., Colorado
J. Herbert Burke, M.C., Florida
Harold R. Collier, M.C., Illinois
William B. Widnall, M.C., New Jersey

Silvio O. Conte, M.C., Massachusetts
Carleton J. King, M.C., New York
Delbert L. Latta, M.C., Ohio
Joseph M. McDade, M.C., Pennsylvania

Executive Committee

Benjamin B. Blackburn, M.C., Georgia
William S. Cohen, M.C., Maine
Bill Frenzel, M.C., Minnesota
Dan Kuykendall, M.C., Tennessee
Wilmer Mizell, M.C., North Carolina

John H. Rousselot, M.C., California
Richard G. Shoup, M.C., Montana
Sam Steiger, M.C., Arizona
William A. Steiger, M.C., Wisconsin
Charles Thone, M.C., Nebraska

Secretary

James M. Collins, M.C., Texas

Treasurer

George Olmsted, Virginia

Auditing Committee Chairman

John Dellenback, M.C., Oregon

Section 615 - Limitation on contributions of currency

Section 616 - Acceptance of excessive honorariums

Section 617 - Fraudulent misrepresentation of campaign authority

Page 20, paragraph (c). The duties and powers under the provisions of this title shall be made by a MAJORITY VOTE of the members of the Commission.

Page 20, paragraph (e). The Commission shall prepare written rules for the conduct of its activities ... it may meet or exercise any of its powers anywhere in United States.

Page 20, paragraph (f) (3). "In carrying out its responsibilities under this Act, the Commission shall, to the fullest extent practicable, avail itself of the assistance, including personnel and facilities, or other agencies and departments of the United States Government. The heads of such agencies and departments may make available to the Commission such personnel, facilities, and other assistance, with or without reimbursement, as the Commission may request.

Powers of the Commission

Page 20, Section 311 (a) (1). To require, by special or general orders, any person to submit in writing such reports and answers to questions as the Commission may prescribe; and such submission shall be made within such a reasonable period of time and under oath or otherwise as the Commission may determine.

Page 20, Section 311 (a) (2). To administer oaths or affirmations.

Page 20, Section 311 (a) (3). To require by subpoena, signed by the Chairman or the Vice Chairman, the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of all documentary evidence relating to the execution of its duties.

Page 20, Section 311 (a) (4). In any proceeding or investigation, to order testimony to be taken by deposition before any person who is designated by the Commission and has the power to administer oaths and, in such instances, to compel testimony and the production of evidence in the same manner as authorized under paragraph (3) of this subsection.

Jack Stiles
November 14, 1974
Page 3

Page 20, Section 311 (a) (6). To initiate (through civil proceedings for injunctive, declaratory, or other appropriate relief), defend or appeal any civil action in the name of the Commission for the purpose of enforcing the provisions of this Act, through its general counsel.

Page 21, Section 311 (a) (11). To conduct investigations and hearings expeditiously, to encourage voluntary compliance, and to report apparent violations to the appropriate law enforcement authorities.

Page 21, Section 311 (d) (2). No officer or agency of the United States shall have any authority to require the Commission to submit its legislative recommendations, testimony, or comments on legislation, to any office or agency of the United States for approval, comments, or review, prior to the submission of such recommendations, testimony, or comments to the Congress.

Enforcement

Page 22, Section 314 (2) (A) and (B). (A) report such apparent violations to the Attorney General. (B) make an investigation of such apparent violations.

I have attempted to keep this as brief as possible, and include the most important functions and powers of the Commission. The selection of the Staff Director and General Counsel is perhaps the most important key to the proper functioning of the Commission.

It is most important that careful consideration be given by the President, Senate and House Minority Leader to the individuals selected for appointment to this Commission. This Commission will be a dominate force in the control and investigation of federal elections for the next decade.



Republican
National
Committee.

Mary Louise Smith
Chairman

November 14, 1974

MEMORANDUM TO: JACK STILES
FROM: MARY LOUISE SMITH *MLS*
SUBJECT: ELECTION COMMISSION MEMBERS

As you know, I have submitted two names for members of the new Federal Election Commission: Judge Jim Schoener of Michigan and Mr. Robert Carter of Washington, D. C.

I submitted Schoener's name because he was the chief Republican staff member who worked on the bill.

I submitted Carter at his own request.

I want to submit four more Republican names as per our recent conversation:

Mr. Ed Terrill, Field Director of the National Republican Congressional Committee;

Mr. Buehl Berentson, Executive Director of the Republican Senatorial Committee;

Mr. Jack Calkins, Executive Director of the National Republican Congressional Committee;

Mr. William Prendergast, former Research Director for the RNC, and more recently, Defense Advisor, U.S. Mission to NATO.

In addition, I am submitting the name of a Democrat: Mr. James H. Duffy, Chief Counsel, Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections.

While I think any of these men are qualified, I stand by my original suggestion of Schoener.

Attachments.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 15, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Ed Terrill and Jack Stiles

SUBJECT: Campaign Reform Bill and Appointments to the
Federal Election Commission

Importance of Commission

1. Commission will take over supervision of all Federal Elections.
2. Set the pattern for Federal Elections in the next decade.
3. A 4-to-2 vote determines appointment of General Counsel and Staff Director with pivotal powers.
4. The Commission has power of subpoena, investigation of alleged infractions and, indirectly, the power to influence the seating of Senators and Representatives and, conceivably, the President.

Terms of First Commissioners

EXPIRE

Senate Appointees	
1. 4/30/76	
2.	3 years after confirmation (1978)
House Appointees	
1. 4/30/77	
2.	4 years after confirmation (1979)
Presidential Appointees	
1. 2 years after confirmation (1977)	
2. 5 years after confirmation (1980)	

President's Appointments: one may be Republican; the other non-GOP affiliated.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Federal Election Commission

Names Suggested for Consideration

Republican:

Glenn Davis
Jim Schoener
Jack Calkins
Buehl Berentson -- Executive Director of the
Republican Senatorial Committee
Don Brotzman
Ed Terrill (prefers to remain in present job,
but would serve)

Non-GOP affiliated:

Jim Duffy -- Chief Counsel, Senate Subcommittee on
Privileges and Elections
Hugh Alexander (suggested by Jack Marsh)

JOHN T. CALKINS

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Bob - I went to a party last Tuesday evening which was also attended by Gwen. On my way out Millie Bighinatti whispered "I hear you are headed for great things" and I'm told that after I left Buehl was talking about it (in bitter terms). In short, the leak had started and since I had said nothing about it, I can only assume that you talked with Gwen before leaving for Japan and that she was the source of the info at the party (though I talked with Gwen there and she never mentioned the subject).

National Republican Congressional Committee
412 Congressional Hotel Washington, D. C. 20003

over

At any rate, I wanted you to know that I was not the leaker,

I'll see you at my home Tuesday night.

welcome back!

11/20/74

Joel

Bob -

This just showed up in my ken. Had you previously seen?

Yes, & so has GRT

Jack

December 24, 1974

Dear Bill:

Many thanks for your views regarding the Federal Elections Commission.

I am aware of the tremendous time and effort you put into this legislation.

Please be assured I will pass your views along to the President and those who are advising him on this matter.

With kindest regards, and best wishes for the Holiday Season, I am

Sincerely,

Max B. Friedersdorf
Deputy Assistant to
the President

Honorable Bill Frenzel
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

MLF:nk

cc: Bob Hartmann w/incoming for your information



BILL FRENZEL
THIRD DISTRICT, MINNESOTA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
1026 LONGWORTH BUILDING
202-225-2871

STAFF DIRECTOR
RICHARD D. WILLOW

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

DISTRICT OFFICES:
MRS. MAYBETH CHRISTENSEN, MANAGER
120 FEDERAL BUILDING
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55401
612-725-2173

MISS SANDRA KLUG, MANAGER
3601 PARK CENTER BOULEVARD
ST. LOUIS PARK, MINNESOTA 55416
612-925-4540

December 19, 1974

Mr. Max Friedersdorf
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Max:

I want to repeat parts of our telephone conversation today for the record. As strongly as I can suggest it, I want you and the President and everybody in the White House to understand that the Federal Elections Commission was contemplated as a full-time Commission. I don't know how the law could be read any differently.

Secondly, I very much doubt whether you could pass any legislation modifying the full-time concept. I realize that Wayne Hays supports a part-time Commission, but I have serious doubts about his ability to pass such a thing next year. Even if he did, I don't see any way to get it through the Senate. The Senate has consistently supported a full-time Commission in all of its elections bills in the past four years.

Finally, for whatever my feeble efforts are worth, I would resist such legislation as strongly as I could. That bill was a struggle. I intend to support the deal that was made in all respects.

From the general political standpoint, our name is mud already, since the Commission should have been created before this time. On January 1 Members, candidates and presidential candidates will be taking actions and making decisions that require regulations and opinions. We aren't ready for them. Further, nobody in your wonderful organization has served up any budget request even though the Commission is supposed to be working and completed its regulations by the first of the year. Perhaps some of your potential employees will work for a sweet smile or a kind word.

I love and admire all of the people who you mentioned as possible candidates for the job. I could support any of them wholeheartedly if they are willing to spend full time on the job and live in

Mr. Max Friedersdorf - page 2

Washington to carry out their responsibilities. I feel very strongly that the job was not invented to supplement the retirement of any of our Members, however wonderful or however deserving.

The President signed that bill, and all of us ought to have a commitment to carry it out.

Yours very truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Bill".

Bill Frenzel
Member of Congress

BF:pce

cc. William Walker
Hon. John Rhodes

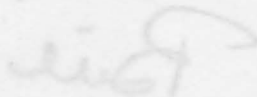
[Original in Hartmann Files, General Subject
File, Congressional Relations Office

Mr. Max Friedersdorf - page 5

Washington to carry out their responsibilities. I feel very
strongly that the job was not invented to supplement the
testimony of any of our Members, however wonderful or
however deserving.

The President signed that bill, and all of us ought to have a
commitment to carry it out.

Yours very truly,



Bill French
Member of Congress

Enclosure

cc. William Walker
Hon. John Rhodes

(JTC also got a copy)

RT#



Republican
National
Committee.

Keep file

June 13, 1975

TO: Receipients of the GOP Federal Election Law Manual
FROM: Jacquie Nystrom

Enclosed for your review is the first publication in the Federal Register of proposed actions by the Federal Election Commission.

Republican State and County organizations should pay particular note to the July 1, 1975 deadline for submitting written comments concerning the proposed rulemaking for the reporting and accountability of these organizations.



Title 11—Federal Elections

CHAPTER I—COMPTROLLER GENERAL
CAMPAIGN COMMUNICATIONS AND DIS-
CLOSURE OF FEDERAL CAMPAIGN FUNDS
Revocations

The Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974, Public Law 93-443, 88 Stat. 1263, October 15, 1974, has made extensive changes in the Federal laws relating to Federal election campaign financing and disclosure. Among these changes are (1) the replacement of the three supervisory officers (Comptroller General, Secretary of the Senate, and Clerk of the House of Representatives) named in the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, Public Law 92-225, 86 Stat. 3, by a new Federal Election Commission; (2) the repeal of title I—Campaign Communications—of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to communications media charges for campaign advertising, expenditure limitations for the use of communications media, and certification requirements for the use of communications media; (3) extensive amendments to title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to registration and financial reporting by candidates for Federal elective office and supporting political committees; and (4) a transition period between the enactment of the new law and the appointment and organization of the newly created Federal Election Commission.

The transition provision, which is section 208(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974, 88 Stat. 1286, states that the Comptroller General, the Secretary of the Senate, and the Clerk of the House of Representatives shall continue to carry out their responsibilities under title I and title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as such titles existed prior to the date of enactment of the Amendments, until the appointment and qualification of all the members of the Federal Election Commission and its general counsel, and until the transfer provided for in section 208(b).

The Federal Election Commission, on May 13, 1975, published a notice in the FEDERAL REGISTER, 40 FR 20854, stating that, as provided by section 208(b), the transfer of authority from the supervisory officers designated by the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to the Federal Election Commission will be completed by May 30, 1975. Accordingly:

(1) Title 11, Chapter 1, Subchapter A, entitled "Campaign Communications" and Subchapter B, entitled "Disclosure of Federal Campaign Funds" of the Code of Federal Regulations are revoked effective May 30, 1975.

(2) Title 11, Chapter 1, Supplement B—Federal Campaign Funds: Comptroller General—which contains questions and answers on the administration of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 by the Office of Federal Elections in the General Accounting Office, is revoked effective May 30, 1975.

(3) The communications media expenditure limitations applicable to each

Federal election during 1975, issued by the General Accounting Office pursuant to title I of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, and published in the FEDERAL REGISTER on February 18, 1975 (40 FR 7080), are revoked effective May 30, 1975.

The Federal Election Commission has stated its intention, on an interim basis, to accept registration statements and financial reports prepared in conformity with the provisions of Subchapter B—Disclosure of Federal Campaign Funds—with certain modifications, with respect to campaigns for nomination or election to the offices of President and Vice President of the United States. For further information, see the Federal Election Commission's notice published in Part III of today's FEDERAL REGISTER.

(Secs. 205(b), 208(b), and 208(c), 88 Stat. 1263, 1278, 1286.)

[SEAL]

ELMER B. STAATS,
Comptroller General
of the United States.

[FR Doc.75-14506 Filed 5-30-75; 3:45 am]

CHAPTER II—FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION

[Notice 1975-1]

INTERIM GUIDELINES; REPORTS

Pending the issuance of revised regulations and forms under the Federal Election Act Amendments of 1974, committees, candidates and others subject to the Act may, in complying with the reporting requirements of the Act, as amended, submit such reports in conformance with regulations promulgated by the previous Supervisory Officers under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, the Secretary of the Senate, the Clerk of the House of Representatives, and the Comptroller General of the United States.

Such reports will be accepted by the Federal Election Commission on forms heretofore published by the previous Supervisory Officers. The Commission recommends that reporting parties observe the following modifications in completing said forms:

(1) In connection with reports due on or before July 10, 1975, on the front page of the Reports of Receipts and Expenditures (for either a political committee or a candidate) issued by the previous Supervisory Officers, the date July 10 should be typed in the section captioned "Type of Report." Committees, candidates and others who have heretofore filed reports with the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House of Representatives should file the July 10, 1975 reports with those officers as before. Committees, candidates and others who have heretofore filed reports with the Comptroller General of the United States should file the July 10 report with the Federal Election Commission, 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463. All other persons subject to the Act should file with the Federal Election Commission, 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463.

(2) The definition of "file," "filed" and "filing" has been superseded by pro-

visions of the 1974 Act which stipulated that the U.S. postmark shall be deemed to be the date of filing. [2 U.S.C. 436 (d)]

(3) The definition of "periodic reports" has been revised to mean reports filed not later than the tenth day following the close of a calendar quarter. [2 U.S.C. 434(a)(1)(C)]

(4) The definition of "pre-election report" has been revised to mean those reports filed not later than the tenth day before the date on which such elections are held. [2 U.S.C. 434(a)(1)(A)(i)]

(5) The instructions entitled "Dates for Closing Books" have been modified by provisions of the 1974 Act which stipulate that pre-election reports shall be complete as of the 15th day before such election; that reports filed not later than the 30th day after an election shall be complete as of the 20th day after such election, and that periodic reports shall be complete as of the close of the calendar quarter. [2 U.S.C. 434(a)(1)(A), (B), and (C)]

(6) In Parts 5 and 10 on the Summary Page issued by the previous Supervisory Officers, both the total amount of transfers and the portion thereof comprised of transfers between political committees which support the same candidate and which do not support more than one candidate should be entered on the same line separated by an oblique (/), pursuant to the requirements of 2 U.S.C. 434(b)(8) and (11). For example, the Part 5 entry might be 800/500, the 800 figure representing the total transfers, the 500 after the oblique representing the amount transferred between political committees supporting the same and no other candidate. In computing the "Total Receipts" amount in the line immediately below Part 5, the total transfer figure (in the foregoing example, 800) should be used. In computing the "Total Expenditures" amount in the line immediately below Part 10, the total transfer figure (the figure before the oblique /) should similarly be used.

(7) Expenditures, including communications media expenditures, need be itemized only when they aggregate in excess of \$100 to any individual in a calendar year [See 2 U.S.C. 434(b)(9)]. Communications media expenditures need not be separately itemized under Part 6 of the Summary Page issued by the previous Supervisory Officers, but may be included under Part 9 of the Summary Page.

The Commission will at the earliest possible date issue interim guidelines relating to the following matters (as well as matters described in the Commission's Notice of Proposed Rulemaking published in today's FEDERAL REGISTER): (a) When and how a candidate should designate a principal campaign committee; (b) when and how a candidate should designate campaign depositories.

Effective date: May 30, 1975.

THOMAS B. CURTIS,
Chairman, for the
Federal Election Commission.

[FR Doc.75-14505 Filed 5-30-75; 8:45 am]

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

[11 CFR Ch. II]

[Notice 1975-2]

IMPLEMENTATION OF FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACT

Notice of Proposed Rulemaking

The Federal Election Commission (FEC) was established by the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974 (Pub. L. 93-443, 2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.). The FEC is responsible for the administration of, for obtaining compliance with, and for formulating policy with respect to the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the Act), and sections 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616 and 617 of Title 18, United States Code (the Act and these sections are collectively referred to herein as the "Statutory Provisions"). Pursuant to these responsibilities, the FEC is preparing regulations to implement certain of the Statutory Provisions; the FEC proposes to make rules with respect to some or all of the aforementioned matters. Such regulations will be designed to insure that all persons and organizations subject to the Statutory Provisions are equally treated, and that the public interest requiring a clear development of constitutional safeguards is served.

Any interested person or organization is invited to submit written comments to the FEC concerning any part of this notice. The facts, opinions, and recommendations presented in writing, in response to this notice will be considered in drafting regulations related to the Statutory Provisions.

Set forth below is a general description of the subjects and issues that the FEC believes require the most immediate attention:

I. PROCEDURES

A. Comments should be directed to whether or not the Commission has the authority to issue regulations generally for 18 U.S.C. 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616 and 617, similar to its authority with respect to Title 2, or whether the Commission can only issue regulations in respect to Title 18 so far as there is a question of:

1. General policy;
2. Where such regulations are necessary or appropriate in connection with the reporting requirements under Title 2; or
3. Where there are parallel references in Titles 2 and 18.

B. Comments should be addressed to general rulemaking procedures of the FEC and consideration should be given to the manner in which comments should be solicited, hearings (if deemed appropriate, the timing, location and duration of said hearings), and the manner in which notices and regulations shall be made public.

C. Advisory opinion requests. Among other considerations, comments should be addressed to whether or not the FEC should have a procedure for issuing opin-

ions to other than the categories of persons listed in 2 U.S.C. 437f(a).

[See generally 2 U.S.C. 437f.]

D. Complaints. Comments should be addressed to whether or not complaint hearings such as those contemplated by 2 U.S.C. 437g(a)(4) should, if ever, be closed to the public. Additional comments as to the entire complaint procedure may be submitted.

E. Comments are invited concerning the manner in which requests under the Freedom of Information Act should be processed.

F. The regulations and procedures necessary to carry out the provision of 2 U.S.C. 439a requiring disclosure of excess contributions and any other amounts contributed to an individual for the purpose of supporting his activities as a holder of Federal office.

II. DEFINITIONS

A. "News story, commentary or editorial" is used in the definition of "expenditure" under the Act at 2 U.S.C. 431 (f) and in 18 U.S.C. 591(f) but is not mentioned in the definition of "contribution" in 2 U.S.C. 431(e) of the Act and 18 U.S.C. 591(e). Comments may be addressed to the issue of whether a "news story, commentary or editorial" is to be included in the definition of a "contribution".

B. "Debt" is not defined in the Act or in Title 18. Comments may be addressed to the distinction between "debt" and "loan" and "anything of value". In this regard comments are solicited concerning "debts" incurred in the normal course of business and consideration should be given to both contingent fees and 18 U.S.C. 610. In addition, comments may be addressed to the question of whether both the expenditure of the proceeds of a loan and the repayment of the loan itself are "expenditures" for the purposes of 2 U.S.C. 431(f) of the Act and 18 U.S.C. 591(f); similar attention should be given to a "debt".

[See 2 U.S.C. 436(c).]

C. "Slate cards" are defined in 2 U.S.C. 431 of the Act and 18 U.S.C. 591 to require the listing of three or more candidates and costs involving such cards are excluded from expenditures. Comments regarding further definitions of "slate cards" may be concerned with the treatment of slate cards that include partial slates and the printing requirements of such cards in regards to the size and type of print of the cards.

D. "Unreimbursed payment for travel expense" is used in 2 U.S.C. 431(e)(5) (D) and 431(f)(4)(E) of the Act and 18 U.S.C. 591(e)(5)(D) and 591(f)(4)(E), but is not defined. Comments may be addressed to the issue of whether or not the \$500 limitation regarding unreimbursed travel expenses is applicable to travel to a campaign site, to travel expenses at or near the campaign site, and to living expenses at said campaign site.

E. Comments are invited with respect to interpretive rules governing the application of 18 U.S.C. 608(e), the "independent expenditure" limitation, including the definition of the word "directly or indirectly, on behalf of a particular candidate" in 18 U.S.C. 608(b)(6) so as to make it clear that only truly independent expenditures will be considered under 18 U.S.C. 608(e), and the scope of activities covered.

F. "Ordinary and necessary expenses incurred . . . in connection with his duties as a holder of Federal office" is used in 2 U.S.C. 491(a) but is not defined. Comments may be submitted concerning the distinctions between "ordinary and necessary expenses" and political expenses, whether or not there should be time limits placed on the use of excess funds prior to and after an election, whether or not a distinction should be drawn between a declared and non-declared candidate for reelection and other matters concerning 2 U.S.C. 439(a).

G. Comment is invited as to whether the term "new party" as defined in 26 U.S.C. 9002(8) includes only organizations that formally considered themselves political parties and nominate candidates for a number of offices, or whether it includes any political organization which serves as the principal campaign committee for a presidential candidate which does not qualify as a "major party" or "minority party" under 26 U.S.C. 9002(6), (7).

III. COMMITTEES

Persons and/or organizations commenting on this section should attempt to suggest ideas and recommendations that will allow local committees to file relatively simple, although comprehensive, reports that will not require extensive backup material or a professional staff to maintain said backup material or prepare the required reports. One purpose of the Act is to encourage widespread participation in the political process, and to such end the FEC will attempt to avoid any regulation tending to limit the economic feasibility of local committees.

1. Comments are invited concerning allocation of expenditures among candidates by multi-candidate committees and by hybrid committees contributing to both non-Federal and Federal candidates.

2. Comments are invited concerning filing requirements for multi-candidate committees and local and State committees, both Federal and non-Federal. Comments may involve whether such committees are required to file and/or register with the FEC and/or file with a principal campaign committee. Standards for such filings may involve the degree of control and/or fund interchange among various committees.

3. Comments are invited concerning the issue of whether local and State party committees are required to register with the FEC.

IV. ELECTIONS

1. Unopposed primary nominations. Comments are invited to discuss whether or not a candidate who is unopposed on the last day of filing for a party nomination and otherwise qualifies to be the nominee of a party should be entitled to the same expenditures under 18 U.S.C. 608(c)(1) during the primary period as a candidate running opposed in the primary.

2. Independent nominees. Comments are invited to discuss whether or not candidates not chosen by a primary election, who may [or may not] be required to secure nominating petitions before appearing on the general election ballot, should be entitled to the same expenditures under 18 U.S.C. 608(c)(1) during the primary period as a candidate running opposed in the primary.

V. CAMPAIGN DEFICITS

1. Comments are invited to discuss whether or not contributions made after January 1, 1975, the effective date of the

Act, should be allowed to reduce a campaign deficit in existence prior to January 1, 1975 and whether or not such contributions should be counted toward the limits of the next "election".

2. Comments are invited to discuss whether or not the 1974 Amendments to the Act should be applied to a run-off election held after January 1, 1975 but arising out of an election in 1974.

3. Comments are invited to discuss whether or not contributions received after an election to retire a deficit should be counted for the election just completed. Comments are invited to discuss how businesses should be allowed to deal with valid business debts which a political committee or candidate cannot pay due to lack of campaign funds or expenditure limits.

VI. NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

1. Comments are invited on the method which should be used to determine payout schedules and amounts.

2. Comments are invited to discuss the treatment of "in kind" contributions,

such as reduced room rates, reduced car rental, payment of expenses to site selecting committees, and reduced charges for use of convention halls.

VII. PUBLICATIONS

Comments are solicited on the number, type and orientation of materials which the Commission should publish to serve as guides to compliance with the laws in the most convenient form and efficient manner.

Comments with respect to additional matters not specifically mentioned are also invited.

Comment Period. Comments should be mailed to Rulemaking Section, Office of General Counsel, Federal Election Commission, 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463 by July 1, 1975. For further information call (202) 382-5162.

THOMAS B. CURTIS,
Chairman, for the

Federal Election Commission.

MAY 29, 1975.

[FR Doc.75-14504 Filed 5-30-75;8:45 am]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 7, 1975

Dear Mr. Curtis:

This is in response to your letter of July 10, 1975, inquiring whether President Ford maintains an office account, newsletter fund or similar account within the purview of 2 U.S.C. 439a.

I regret the delay in responding to your inquiry. However, it was necessary to review in detail our present practices in order to respond fully to your question. No such accounts are maintained by or on behalf of the President to defray "any ordinary and necessary expenses incurred by him in connection with his duties as a holder of Federal office...."

As an accommodation to the White House press corps which travels with the President on all trips, regardless of the nature of the trip, the White House travel office has traditionally maintained a so-called press travel account. This account receives payments from the White House press corps for its share of the costs of travelling on Air Force One, the press charter plane which follows the President's plane, and any ground transportation necessary for the press to accompany the President at virtually all times while away from Washington.

Due to the unique nature of the President's schedule; e.g., confidential departure times, use of military bases, possibilities for sudden schedule changes, etc., the White House travel office makes the necessary arrangement for these transportation costs and bills the media accordingly. Receipts are maintained in an account used only for this purpose. Disbursements from this account are generally made into the Treasury of the United States for travel on government planes, to the airlines from whom planes have been chartered, and to the appropriate companies for ground transportation expenses.

While this account is not used for support of a holder of Federal office, we would be pleased to make its records available for inspection by members of your staff.

It is our understanding that for a number of years the two national political committees have undertaken certain expenditures in furtherance of party goals for activities by the President and Vice President as the titular heads of their political parties. The Republican National Committee has made such expenditures during the present and prior Administrations. I have, therefore, requested the General Counsel of the Republican National Committee to respond to you directly with respect to these expenditures. He has advised that these expenditures have already been filed with the Federal Election Commission, the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate, in the Committee's quarterly reports, and that he will promptly contact the FEC to discuss the matter further.

If you have any additional questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,



Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

Mr. Thomas B. Curtis
Chairman
Federal Election Commission
Washington, D. C. 20463

CC: Cramer, Haber & Becker

bcc: Don Rumsfeld
Dick Cheney
Jim Connor
John Marsh
Robert Hartmann ✓
Ron Nessen
Peter Wallison
PWB: Barry Roth

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HARTMANN
JACK MARSH
DONALD RUMSFELD
DICK CHENEY
MAX FRIEDERSDORF
BILL SEIDMAN

FROM: JIM CONNOR

The attached letter on the issue of proposed Presidential travel requirements was transmitted to the Federal Elections Commission. This copy is for your information. If you have questions on specific aspects of it, please contact either me or Barry Roth in the Counsel's office.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 3, 1975

Dear Mr. Curtis:

This is in response to Notice 1975-38 (F.R. 40202) in which the Federal Election Commission has sought comments concerning a request from the campaign manager for Mr. Louis Wyman for an opinion of the FEC General Counsel on several questions relating to possible travel by "President Ford and former Governor Reagan" to New Hampshire for the purpose of endorsing Mr. Wyman in the September 16, 1975, special Senatorial election. The General Counsel has proposed for Commission review an opinion responding to this request which states, in part, as follows:

"Presidential expenditures in connection with such a visit provide unique problems of attribution. It would be illogical, and unnecessarily restrictive, to require the attribution of the actual cost of a presidential campaign foray. Hence, only the equivalent commercial rates will be chargeable against an incumbent President's individual contribution limitations and against the candidate's overall expenditure limitation. Expenses for accompanying staff personnel will be charged against the foregoing limitations only if such staff personnel serve primarily as advance persons or other campaign staff members and do not provide support services to the Office of the President. Additionally, special costs attendant upon Ford's office as President, such as the Secret Service, police and medical attention, are not to be included within this amount. These costs are relatively fixed and are related to Ford's position as President and not to his political function as head of his party."

In the form of comment on this one provision, we wish to bring to your attention the manner in which we intend to apportion the various costs incurred to operate government-owned aircraft on which the President and accompanying government personnel travel to and from localities where the President appears for other than official purposes. As the General Counsel's proposed opinion indicates, expenditures for such travel by the President present problems that are unique to his Federal office, in that the President must continue to perform in his official capacity at the same time he undertakes political activities.

For this reason, whenever the President travels, regardless of the purpose of the particular trip, he is accompanied by a number of persons who are present to support him in his official role. For example, certain members of the White House staff, military aides, medical aides, Secret Service and communications personnel are present not for any political purpose, but solely to provide the President with support which in many cases they are required by law to perform. The Secret Service, in particular, is required by P.L. 90-331 to provide protection to "major Presidential and Vice Presidential" candidates at the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury and on the basis of consultation with an advisory committee of bipartisan congressional membership.

(1) Costs of Operating Government-Owned Aircraft on Political Trips

When the President travels on a trip which entails only political stops, the cost of operating the Government-owned aircraft that are used to transport the President can be readily determined from the enclosed hourly rate schedule, used by the Department of Defense to recover its costs from other government agencies that use military aircraft. In our view, the costs of transporting any persons aboard the aircraft who are traveling for political purposes should be borne by the appropriate political committee. On the other hand, the costs of transporting those persons who are traveling for the purpose of supporting the Office of the President should not be attributed to a political committee.

For the purpose of the President's future travels, we will identify those individuals who could be considered to be present for a

political purpose. We plan to treat as political travelers the President and First Family, political committee officials, certain White House and other officials, who may perform some political activities, and any other persons whose activities could be viewed as political. Although White House officials are present for official support activities, and generally spend a substantial majority, if not all, of their time on official business, we intend to consider the following categories of officials to be political for the purpose of such travel: White House officials who may advise on political matters (e. g., Donald Rumsfeld, Robert Hartmann, John Marsh, Ron Nessen, Richard Cheney, etc.), speechwriters, advancement, and a White House photographer.

The remainder of the White House personnel is present for the purpose of supporting the President in his official capacity, e. g., a civilian aide or personal secretary, along with non-White House support personnel, e. g., the Secret Service, military aides, medical and communications personnel, etc. They are not present for any political purpose, and the costs of their travel should not be attributed to a political committee. In this regard, it is our understanding that in 1972 the Secret Service paid up to the cost of comparable first-class airfare for its agents traveling on board chartered aircraft of non-incumbent Presidential candidates.

Therefore, on future Presidential travel the appropriate political committee will be charged by DOD for its pro rata share of the hourly costs of using government-owned aircraft, based on the percentage of the passengers on board who are present mainly or in part for a political purpose.

(2) Costs of Operating Government-Owned Aircraft
on Mixed Official-Political Trips

In most cases, it is not possible to schedule the President's travel in a manner that will allow trips to be solely official or solely political. We believe that the best formula for apportioning the transportation costs on mixed official-political purpose trips is one which may be referred to as the "round trip airfare formula." Under this formula, the political stops are

isolated from the official stops in order to establish the political trip that would have been made if the President did not have the responsibilities of his office. For this purpose, where a particular stop includes both official and political events, it will be treated as a political stop. A stop will be regarded as official when that is its main purpose, even though the President may meet, incidental to the official event, with political figures in an informal and unpublicized meeting, e.g., a private breakfast with a local political figure or greeting a small group of local politicians.

Once the political stops of such a trip have been determined, DOD calculates the cost of that "political" trip and charges the appropriate political committee for its share, as described above, of the costs of the trip, based on the round trip flying time between the initial point of departure, generally, Washington, D. C., and the political stops made. An example might help to clarify this approach. Suppose the President makes a trip from Washington to San Francisco for official purposes, then to Los Angeles for political purposes, and returns to Washington via St. Louis where a stop is made for official purposes. Under this formula, the appropriate political committee is charged for its pro rata share of the hourly costs of a trip from Washington to Los Angeles and return to Washington, even though there was no direct Washington to Los Angeles leg of the flight.

(3) Other Travel Costs

In order to assure that all costs related to the political portion of a trip are treated as political costs, the appropriate political committee will be charged the expenses for each political stop of any member of the Presidential party who is present mainly or in part for a political purpose, as determined above. Thus, political funds will pay the expenses of the President and these other officials, but not the expenses of those persons who are present to support the President entirely in his official capacity.

Such items as communications arrangements, motorcades, automobile rentals, and other miscellaneous items are readily identifiable as to their purpose, and are to be paid by the appropriate political committee when they are for political purposes.

Where an item, such as the cost of a bus for a motorcade involves a mixed purpose, e. g., transporting the members of the Presidential party who are considered to be present for a political purpose, and also those serving the President in his official capacity, the appropriate political committee will bear the full cost of that item.

In every case where a candidate for Federal office is an incumbent, either in an office to which he seeks re-election or in another office, his campaign activities may become intermingled with his official activities, and similar problems will arise in ascertaining which costs he incurs are campaign-related. The proposals herein made provide a reasonable method for resolving such problems.

(4) Services of Government Personnel

For the purpose of identifying the costs of travel to be borne by the appropriate political committee, we understand that it is not necessary to apportion the salaries of those members of the personal staffs of incumbent candidates for Federal office within either the Executive or Legislative Branches who, in addition to their official duties, also participate in some limited political activities. For example, employees "paid from the appropriation for the office of the President "are exempted by 5 U. S. C. 7324(d)(1) from the general prohibition contained in 5 U. S. C. 7324(a)(2) against Executive Branch employees participating in "political management or in political campaigns." This section effectively places the White House staff in a position comparable to that of the personal staffs of members of Congress.

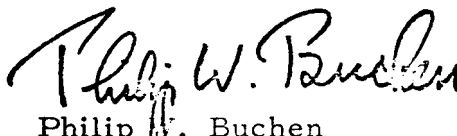
No precise dividing line now exists, nor is one likely to be drawn, which clearly indicates when such employees are performing official duties and when those duties are political. So long as these employees expend a substantial majority (an average in excess of forty hours per week) of their time on official duties, there is no need to attribute any portion of the salaries of such employees to a political committee.

The reason for this letter is to bring to the Commission's attention the means by which we intend to attribute to a political committee the costs of the President's travel for purposes of support of the

Republican Party, support of specific candidates, or support of his own candidacy. To the extent this treatment may be different from that proposed by the General Counsel, we do not imply that a change need be made in the proposed opinion of such counsel. Rather we believe that the proposed opinion is consistent with the requirements of the applicable law and that if a more liberal attribution of expenses is made to a political committee such is within a candidate's discretion.

We intend to now implement with respect to future travel by the President, this treatment for attribution of such travel costs. We would appreciate very much any comments or suggestions the Commission may think are appropriate to make with respect to our treatment of the President's travel costs.

Sincerely,


Philip W. Buchen
Counsel to the President

The Honorable Thomas B. Curtis
Chairman
Federal Election Commission
Washington, D. C. 20463

27000 (Air Force One) (VC-137C)

Cost per hour: \$2,206.00
Passengers: Approximately 50

26000 (Air Force One backup) VC-137C)

Cost per hour: \$2,206.00
Passengers: Approximately 50

Jet Star (VC-140)

Cost per hour: \$ 889.00
Passengers: 8

White Top Helicopter (VH-3A)

Cost per hour: \$ 723.00
Passengers: 12

Huey Helicopter (VH-IN)

Cost per hour: \$ 262.00
Passengers: 8



Republican National Committee.

William C. Cramer, General Counsel
Republican National Committee
Member for Florida
485 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 4100
Washington, D. C. 20024
(202) 554-1100

September 24, 1975

Honorable Thomas B. Harris, Chairman
Delegate Selection Task Force
Federal Election Commission
1325 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

RE: DELEGATE SELECTION

Dear Commissioner Harris:

As Counsel for the Republican National Committee and with the concurrence of the Chairman of the Committee, Mary Louise Smith, and consistent with the oral expressions made by me at the meeting of your Task Force on Wednesday, September 17, 1975, the purpose of this Memorandum is to indicate what we believe to be some of the problem areas relating to this matter.

First and foremost, a threshold decision must be made by the Commission and by your Task Force on Delegate Selection relating to a legal and/or policy question as to whether the delegate selection process should be subject to Federal government supervision and control under your suggested Plans A or B or, for that matter, under any other plan.

At the outset, I believe there is general agreement on the conclusion in your Task Force Memorandum that the present Federal Election Campaign Act, "applies to that process (Delegate Selection) erratically or not at all". I would opt for "not at all" (except for the expenditures authorized by the Presidential candidate and possibly the "erratic" application to the \$25,000 individual limit) is more clearly reflective of Congressional intent.

Honorable Thomas B. Harris, Chairman
Page 2
September 24, 1975

CONGRESS DID NOT INTEND UNDER PRESENT
LAWS TO GENERALLY INVOLVE THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT IN THE DELEGATE SELECTION
PROCESS

The memorandum approved by the Delegate Selection Task Force, after reaching the above referred to conclusion, seems to strain to construe the Act as bringing the delegate selection process under some provisions of the law. The legislative history and an objective analysis of the Act itself would more likely lead to the conclusion that there was a clear Congressional intent to avoid such Federal regulations. For instance, the effort to construe the \$25,000 individual limit to include contributions to delegate aspirants because they are made for "the purpose of influencing the results of the primary held for the selection of delegates" would result in the Act's application only in states that have primary elections and not in the 21 states, Puerto Rico, and the possessions that do not have primary elections.

The anomaly that results from applying the \$25,000 limitation to delegate selection in some states and not in others; the obvious intent of Congress not to include delegates in the \$1,000 per person contribution limits (a delegate is not a "candidate") and the unmanageable deluge of reports which would result from applying the reporting requirements to the delegate selection process for persons making "contributions" in excess of \$100.00 (these being the only possible areas of application), leads to the conclusion that the Congress did not intend for the Act to apply broadly to the delegate selection process.

BEFORE PROPOSING FURTHER FEDERAL INTERVENTION
IN THE DELEGATE SELECTION PROCESS, THE FOL-
LOWING THRESHOLD QUESTION MUST BE RESOLVED

The threshold question that supersedes all others and that needs answering as a matter of policy by your Task Force and the respective political parties, particularly in view of recent Supreme Court decisions, is:

Honorable Thomas B. Harris, Chairman
Page 3
September 24, 1975

IN VIEW OF THE FIRST, FIFTH, AND NINTH AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION, INCLUDING THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND ASSOCIATION, DUE PROCESS, AND THE RETAINED RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE, AS WELL AS THE COURT ANNUNCIATED POLITICAL THICKET DOCTRINE, SHOULD CONGRESS ATTEMPT TO LEGISLATE AND THUS FEDERALLY INTERVENE IN THE DELEGATE SELECTION PROCESS PRESENTLY RETAINED BY THE PEOPLE IN EXERCISING FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION AND ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH THE RESPECTIVE POLITICAL PARTIES?

This is the question that must be addressed and resolved as a matter of principle and policy before any legislative proposals should be seriously considered, particularly in view of the known complexity of the delegate selection process, the variations therein, state to state, and the existing legislative definition indicating that delegates are not Federal candidates.

There can be no dispute that the National convention is a voluntary gathering of persons who assemble in their individual or strictly political partisan capacity and not as officeholders and as such, delegates have a duty to perform numerous party functions as well as the function of nominating the Vice President and President for their party.

There can also be little dispute over the fact that in recent Supreme Court decisions such as Cousins v. Wigoda, 95 Supreme Court 541 (1975) and O'Brien v. Brown, 409 U.S. 1 (1972) as examples, the Courts have sustained the concept of the right of association of political parties with the Constitutional rights of those parties being superior to State law as in the Cousins case and sustaining the rights of the political convention to make delegate selection decisions when challenged under the due process clause as in the O'Brien case.

Honorable Thomas B. Harris, Chairman
Page 4
September 24, 1975

In Cousins v. Wigoda, supra, the Supreme Court held:

"There can no longer be any doubt that freedom to associate with others for the common advancement of political beliefs and ideas in a form of 'orderly group activity' protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

....The right to associate with the political party of one's choice is an integral part of this basic constitutional freedom."

Delegates, rather than being officers, either State or Federal, are involved in an endeavor to gain or retain political power rather than in an exercise of political power to control the governmental activities in performance of governmental duties and are therefore, functionaries of the respective political parties exercising authority through the convention system for the nomination of National candidates and the management of their respective parties.

The Republican National Committee is on record as having opposed certain sections of the present Act and in particular, that relating to Federal financing of National conventions for the very reason that the Committee felt that such Federal financing would lead to Federal intervention in the delegate selection process which it was felt is part of the political process of America, under freedom of association and the retained rights of the people and therefore, should not be subject to legislative intervention in keeping with the above referred to pronouncements of the Supreme Court. The Republican National Committee Resolution is attached hereto (having been adopted at the meeting of April 26, 1974).

It is my view that should the question be presented to the Republican National Committee as to whether the Committee would recommend Federal legislation in the field of delegate selection, it is highly unlikely that any proposal of that nature would be approved. It is obvious that I cannot

Honorable Thomas B. Harris, Chairman
Page 5
September 24, 1975

speak for the Committee as such, but I believe the precedent already established on convention financing clearly indicates the general view of the Committee of the Republican Party in opposition to Federal intervention in the delegate selection process. This is further buttressed by the fact that the Rules for Delegate Selection adopted by the Republican Party at its last convention in 1972, clearly set out the rules for the delegate selection process and indicates an effort to fully exercise the political party's authority relating to this process. (A copy of the Rules is attached hereto.)

INSURMOUNTABLE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN
ANY FEDERAL ATTEMPT TO INTERVENE IN
THE DELEGATE SELECTION PROCESS

Having dealt with the applicability of the present law to the delegate selection process and the threshold question as to whether further legislative proposals should be recommended to Congress, I now deal briefly with a few of the many vexatious questions that arise relating to any proposal for legislation.

Without attempting to discuss specifically the problems that arise under Plan A or Plan B as proposed, it is obvious that any proposal raises a plethora of questions and any effort to make specific proposals would do more harm than good and would cause more problems than it would solve at this late date as we near the nominating process which begins in January of next year.

The following are a few of the questions that arise relating to Federal legislative proposals under any plan:

How, at what time in the nominating process, and to whom would any proposed legislation apply? For instance, would it apply in such states as Nevada, Wyoming and Vermont where convention delegates are selected at a State convention or political party meeting as compared to the varied preferential primary state delegate selection procedures? What control can be asserted effectively over selection of delegates from Guam, the Virgin Islands, and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico? How far down the line in the delegate selection process

Honorable Thomas B. Harris, Chairman
Page 6
September 24, 1975

would intervention have to occur to be effective? Could it apply to ward, precinct and county meetings called to select representatives to district or state delegate selection conventions?

How can the Commission's proposed legislation properly apply to unpledged as well as pledged delegate aspirants?

Would such legislation and regulations following discourage the average American citizen to participate in the delegate selection process including the county, district, state or National level?

Would not this have the effect of closing rather than opening the door for full participation in the delegate selection process and in particular the young, the poor, and the politically as well as statutorially unsophisticated?

In summarization, it is therefore submitted that the present Act was not intended to generally cover the subject of the delegate selection process, that as a matter of policy and principle the Congress should not attempt to inject itself into the delegate selection process, it being a part of the political process and right of freedom of association of the American people. Any effort to draft legislation at this late date or recommend that Congress consider legislation in this field is unwise, raises too many unresolvable questions and would tend to restrict rather than open up the political processes.

I trust that this is of some assistance to your Task Force.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM C. CRAMER

WCC:dsl
Attachments

*Mr. Smith also received
this.*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4/22/76

Bob:

For your information.

Phil Buchen

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 14, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PHILIP W. BUCHEN *P.*

SUBJECT: Reconstitution of the Federal
Election Commission (FEC)

Yesterday, the House-Senate Conference Committee agreed in principle to a bill that reconstitutes the FEC by providing for six members appointed by you and confirmed by the Senate. The Conference will next meet on April 27 to approve the final bill and report. Based on drafts and colloquies during the Conference, the following are the major provisions of the bill:

1. New contribution limitations. The bill continues the present limits of \$1,000 per election on contributions by individuals to federal candidates and \$25,000 total per calendar year. Under the bill, an individual may give up to \$20,000 in any calendar year to the political committees established and maintained by a national political party. An individual may only give \$5,000 to any other political committee. Under the present law, the only limit on contributions to political committees not related to individual candidates is \$25,000 per year. The bill continues the present \$5,000 limit on contributions by multi-candidate committees to candidates for federal office, but establishes, for the first time, limits on the amounts which multi-candidate committees can transfer to the political committees of the parties (\$15,000) or to any other political committee (\$5,000). A special exemption is provided for transfers between political committees of the national, state or local parties.

The bill also allows the Republican or Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee or the national committee of a political party, or any combination thereof, to give up to \$17,500 per election to a candidate for the Senate. Under the old law, each committee could give only \$5,000 and thus a maximum total of \$10,000. However, Hays resisted attempts to give this same right to the Congressional campaign committees.

2. The Packwood Amendment. The bill also includes a modified version of the Packwood Amendment which for the first time requires corporations, labor organizations, and other membership organizations issuing communications to their stockholders, employees or members to report the cost of such communications to the extent they relate to clearly identifiable candidates. The threshold for reporting is \$2,000 per election, regardless of the number of candidates involved. The costs applicable to candidates only incidentally referenced in a regular newsletter are not required to be reported. However, the costs of a special election issue or a reprint of an editorial endorsing a candidate would have to be disclosed. Thus, the costs of phone banks and other special efforts used by unions to influence elections would be disclosed, even though they are not considered to be campaign contributions.

3. Independence of the FEC. The bill limits the FEC's authority to grant new advisory opinions to those relating to specific factual situations and when it is not necessary to state a general rule of law. The FEC is given 90 days from enactment to reduce its old advisory opinions to regulations which are then subject to a one-House veto. Wayne Hays' intent is to control the decisions rendered by the Commission. Although the item veto remains in the law, it has been modified to permit the disapproval of only an entire subject under regulation, and not individual words or paragraphs of regulations.

One Republican member of the Commission has indicated that these limitations on advisory opinions are not as objectionable as thought because the Commission would issue regulations in any event to implement the criminal provisions of the old law which would be transferred

from Title 18 to Title 2 of the United States Code. Additionally, the 90-day period given to the Commission will mean that the regulations based on advisory opinions will most likely be submitted in late July. With the lengthy recesses we can expect this summer for the conventions and campaigns, Hays will have relatively little opportunity to get the House to veto any of the old advisory opinions. While persons may continue to rely on the advisory opinions, they do so at the risk that if vetoed by one House, they may be required to reverse earlier actions at great expense to their committee or campaign. This will have a chilling effect on candidates and their reliance on advisory opinions, and on the Commission and its ability to effectively and independently enforce the election laws.

4. Revision of SUNPAC. The bill revises the FEC's SUNPAC decision which had permitted unlimited solicitation by corporations of all its employees for contributions to a corporate political action committee. The bill permits corporations to instead solicit on an unlimited basis only executive officers and administrative personnel who are defined in the act to be salaried employees who have either policy making, managerial, professional, or supervisory responsibilities. The final version of the bill does not prohibit solicitations of an employee by his superior, but does prohibit the use of coercion or threat of job reprisal. Corporations and labor organizations will also be able to solicit all employees and shareholders twice a year. This solicitation must be conducted in a manner that neither the corporation nor labor union will be able to determine who makes a contribution of \$50 or less as a result of such solicitation. This will require corporations to use banks or trustee arrangements for this purpose. This provision was designed to prevent the corporation from being able to use a check-off for non-executive employees. Only one trade association per corporation is allowed to solicit the executive personnel of a member corporation. The act also provides that whenever a check-off is used by a corporation for its PAC, then it must also be made available to the union at cost. Unless the corporation first establishes a check-off, the union may not demand it.

Most of the concerns of corporations have thus been resolved with the exception of whether a corporation must provide the union with a list of non-union employees for the purpose of permitting the unions to solicit all employees twice a year. The corporations are afraid that the employee's listing could be used to organize non-union plants and divisions of corporations. The statute

is silent on this point, but it is anticipated that unfavorable legislative history will be included in the Conference Report. It is quite possible that the corporations would prevail if this were taken to court. Corporations remain opposed to the SUNPAC revisions, although at this stage their objections are based more on emotion than on an analysis of the bill.

Note: The foregoing are only preliminary comments, and, after we see the exact text of the amendments and the complete Conference Report, we will provide a revised analysis.